WAR IN ANCIENT INDIA

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V R RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

With a Foreword By
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To the cherished memory of
my elder brothers
BRAHMASRI RAMASWAMI DIKSHITAR (1874-1941)
and
BRAHMASRI NATESA DIKSHITAR (1879-1940)
of Vishnampet, Tanjore District,
who were srautins in the literal sense of
the term, and who, as distinguished
Vedic scholars followed their
forefathers by performing a number
of Vedic yajnas like somayaga,
caturmasya, aptoryama and garudacayana

FOREWORD

I deem it a privilege to be given the opportunity of writing a foreword to this excellent publication, *War in Ancient India*, at the request of the author, Mr V R. Ramachandra Dikshitar Mr Dikshitar's works have attracted the notice of scholars, both in the East and the West, and some of his classics like the *Silappadikaram*, have justly won for him wide appreciation In bringing out this monumental work on War in Ancient India, at this particular juncture, Mr Dikshitar has placed historians, more particularly Indian historians, under a deep debt of gratitude

War is as old as the human race and despite pious resolutions and possible prophylactic measures, it threatens to repeat itself at intervals as long as the human race lasts! Each century has witnessed a war more grim and devastating in its effect than the last, and despite the so-called march of civilization, atrocities are being perpetrated in modern times which would make the warriors of old turn in their graves

It is refreshing to note how in ancient times at least, the laws of war were designed to bring out the best and not the worst of human traits Chivalry, individual heroism, qualities of mercy and nobility of outlook even in the grimmest of struggles were not unknown to the soldiers of ancient India Thus among the laws of war, we find that (1) a warrior in armour must not fight with

one not so clad, (2) one should fight only one enemy and cease fighting if the opponent is disabled, (3) aged men, women and children, the retreating, or one who held a straw in his lips as a sign of unconditional surrender should not be killed It is of topical interest to note that one of the laws enjoins the army to leave the fruit and flower gardens, temples and other places of public worship unmolested

The chapters dealing with the Departments of Army, their respective duties, the weapons used in ancient warfare and strategy and tactics in war have been presented in a masterly way and give the reader a realistic conception of how wars were carried on in ancient India No less interesting is the chapter on Diplomacy and War although one may not be inclined to agree with the ethics underlying some of these diplomacies But perhaps state-craft can never be freed from such unfortunate trends, and one may console oneself with the thought that it is not the soldiers who are responsible for such state-craft in all ages.

This is a foreword and not a critical review, which should be left to competent scholars To the lay mind, the theme and the method of exposition are so interesting that the book furnishes entertaining reading It is gratifying to note that the author has come to the same conclusion which has been forced on most thinking men, that war cannot be eradicated, but should be ennobled And this can be done only if men of good will foregather, if men forget the pride of race and birth which history

unfortunately tries indirectly to preach, if men apply their minds honestly to the task of the regeneration of mankind and if humanity adheres to the fundamentals of all religions and strives to foster the spirit of brotherhood In the words of the author 'Let us think and act not in terms of nationalism but in the terms of internationalism' And by such unselfish conduct even the most self-centered may feel ultimately that he ensures his own happiness and that of his narrow clan, or country much more assuredly than by means of conflicts, chaos and conflagration !

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS,
1st April, 1944 } A LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIAR.

PREFACE

Copies of the first edition of *War in Ancient India*, published in 1944 went out of print in the course of two years after its publication The demand for the book not only in India but also in the United Kingdom was so encouraging that I have ventured to publish this second edition I have now taken care to correct some mistakes which had unfortunately crept into the first edition and I have tried to bring the book up-to-date Certain improvements have also been made , especially, I have added seven plates at the end illustrative of ancient Indian warfare When this edition was nearing its completion in print, the breakdown in the lino-type machinery of the Press has delayed the publication till now I had therefore to bring out this edition without the use of diacritical marks in the last few pages including the index

MADRAS,
10th April 1948.

V R R DIKSHITAR

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

The following pages are based on lectures delivered in the Annamalai University in 1934 This is the first attempt to give an almost complete exposition of the art and the science of war in Ancient India, and a consecutive account and the history of Indian military tradition The subject matter covers the whole period from the earliest times to the end of the Vijayanagar epoch The work has been carried through the press under heavy pressure of war times, and I claim, on that ground, the indulgence of my readers for mis-prints that may have passed uncorrected

I offer my tribute of respect to Lt -Col Dewan Bahadur Dr A Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor, University of Madras, who has contributed a foreword to this book, his profound learning and vast experience are only equalled by his courtesy and readiness to afford to others advice, the soundness and value of which it would be difficult to over-rate Nor must I omit to express my warmest gratitude to Rao Bahadur K V Rangaswami Aiyangar and Rao Bahadur C S. Srinivasachari for kindly reading the proofs, and making helpful suggestions, and to the Rev Fr T N Siqueira, S J, for reading the manuscript of the work For the arduous task of the compilation of the Index, I owe thanks to Dr T V Mahalingam, M A, D Litt I also desire to thank the Madras School-book and Literature Society for the generous contribution towards this publication

MADRAS,
5th April 1944

V. R RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR.

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CHAPTER I

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF WAR

INTRODUCTORY

THE history of ancient India is largely a history of Hindu culture and progress Hindu culture has a distinct claim to a higher antiquity than Assyrian schools would claim for Sargon I and as much or even a higher antiquity than Egyptian scholars would claim for the commencement of the first dynasty of Kings One aspect of this culture consists in India's political institutions which were almost modern Among these we are concerned in this study only with the institutions of war Modern warfare has developed on mechanical lines, giving less scope for the qualities of courage and individual leadership, and we doubtless see further accentuation of these traits in the present World War [1]

AMONG THE TRIBES

War is a political institution and a necessary evil To-day we speak of a new world order and realise that the call to humanise has a precedence even over defence In spite of this new view which implies the cultivation of international-mindedness, every country is now either at war or on a footing of war-preparedness This means we are unable to shake off bellicosity completely

1 See, for example, *How to Prevent War* by a number of writers and published by Victor Gollancz Ltd, London

To the early tribes war was a holy function Before the actual expedition, they offered sacrifices to the tribal god or goddess The idea was that god was all-powerful and would protect the soldiers and confer victory in war The notion was entertained that the gods of these tribes 'went in person with them to war—an idea which totemism bequeathed to more advanced stages in religion, for instance, to Peruvian polytheism '[2] We learn from the Tamil classic *Śilappadikāram* that the Eiynar, perhaps the aborigines of South India, who lived by cattle-lifting and highway robbery, invariably invoked the aid of their goddess Korravai, the deity who led the Eiynar host in all their expeditions with a view to securing for them victory and getting in return sacrifices of both animals and men[3] Bows and arrows were their principal weapons, though the use of spears was not unknown

THE EARLY INDO-ARYANS

The aboriginal tribes were not all entirely hunters or marauders Some took to a pastoral life and they cultivated the arts of peace while pursuing a primitive form of agriculture To this category belonged the so-called Indo-Aryans of the Rg Vedic period They settled in the plains, especially on the banks of rivers and streams, and counted their wealth by the heads of cattle they possessed These primitive nomad tribes, which took to agriculture and cultivated habits of peace and not of war, became warlike through the ages and

2 F B Jevons *An Introduction to the History of Religion* (6th ed), pp 108 and 242

3 V R R Dikshitar *Śilappadikāram,* pp 180-89 'Eiynar' in *Sen Tamil,* Madura, Vol XXXI, No 1

by force of circumstances First, the pressure of an ever-increasing population drove them to seek new settlements and new homes In this expansion they came into effective contact with peoples alien to their culture, who would not suffer the intrusion of foreigners into their ancient and simple *habitat* It was natural that they rose in revolt and the intruding tribes were forced to defend themselves against the armed attacks of the natives of the soil Thus the defence complex fired their psychological impulses, and the result was the outbreak of hostilities

In this connexion we may examine a few passages in the *Aitareya Brāhmana*[3a] where it is said that a war broke out between the Devas and the Asuras The latter had an organization and a leader and were successful against the unorganized hordes of the Devas, identified with Indo-Aryans, who were utterly routed This signal defeat at the hands of the Asuras set the Devas think about their future So they resolved to elect a king who was to be their leader in war The Indo-Aryans attributed the success of their enemies to their leader and king So the Aryan peoples met and elected a king from among themselves

Here we have a reliable piece of evidence to prove that the institution of kingship in ancient India originated in war as it did in Europe If we are to identify the Devas and the Asuras with the Aryans and Dravidians, the testimony of history supports the earlier advance ment of political institutions among the Dravidians, which served for the Indo-Aryans as a model to copy and follow We may note, in passing, that war, which

3a See Dikshitar *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, pp 62-63

is largely regarded as a political institution, was in existence before a political society came into being, and long before the primary political institution of kingship Can we not, then, say that war preceded all political institutions, and that with a settled order of society with the monarch at its top it came to be regarded as a necessary political instrument? Survivals of implements of wood and stone of a very primitive epoch indicate that the institution of war was very ancient, more ancient than we are ordinarily led to imagine

SETTLED SOCIETY

With a settled society, the State emerged and inaugurated laws of marriage and property The sanctity of family life and the rights of private property led to the increasing complexity of society This resulted in the formation of different classes, or what in India we would call castes To ensure social harmony, society was divided into a number of communities, each community being assigned particular duties (*svadharma*), to be discharged by it for the common welfare of all communities, without prejudicially infringing the duties and rights of other communities In short. society was evolved on an economic basis which was well suited to the exigencies of those days With the introduction of stringent laws and conventions which tended to bind society together as one whole, it was found that without some absolute authority to enforce these laws and customs society would not progress Hence the inauguration of *danda,* or punishment, for the infringement of laws and customs, and of the *dandadhara,* or King The instruments of this *danda* were the police and the army, though the institution

of police came later in the story of India's political advancement

THE WARRIOR CASTE

Thus the value and importance of the army were realised very early in the history of India, and this led in course of time to the maintenance of a permanent militia to put down dissensions within and arrest aggressions from without Of capital importance to the execution of both foreign and home policy was the institution of the army War or no war, the army was to be maintained, to meet any unexpected contingency In a country where there were many castes and communities whose occupations were hereditary, the standing army came to consist largely of the members of the hereditary fighting castes, thus maintaining a group solely devoted to the waging of war This gave rise to the Ksatriya or warrior caste, and the *ksatram dharmam* came to mean the primary duty of war To serve the country by participating in war became the *svadharma* of this warrior community How this had a salutary effect on the administration of the land, a study of the history of ancient India will demonstrate The cut-and-dry distinction of the civil population from the military and the equally clear distinction between the civil and military functions of the State helped to a large extent not only the progress of civil administration but also the moral and material welfare of the land This cut deep at the root of that mental attitude now called militarism

We are told that the educational system in Italy under the Fascists and in Germany under the Nazis has been directed so as to develop the militarist attitude

among the people It prepares the whole community for war There are again nations which advocate conscription involving compulsory military service for male adults This necessarily leads to the separation of the sexes and affects the entire social structure Things were different in ancient India No doubt there was compulsory military service But it was confined to one particular caste and it was not universal The necessary education, drill, and discipline to cultivate militarism were confined to the members of one community, the Kṣatriyas This prevented the militant attitude from spreading to other communities and kept the whole social structure unaffected by actual wars and war institutions Says the *Atharva Veda* 'May we revel, living a hundred winters, rich in heroes '[4] The whole country looked upon the members of this particular community as defenders of their country and consequently did not grudge the high influence and power wielded by the Kṣatriyas, who were assigned a social rank next in importance to the community which ministered to the intellectual and spiritual needs of the society [5]

4 Bk XIX, 12 1 Harvard Oriental Series—Trans by W D Whitney

5 A thesis has been put forward by Prof N Ghose of the Dacca University in his *Indian Literature and Culture Origins*, that it was the Vrātyas who occupied the ancient Magadha and Anūpa Deśa and supplied man-power to the Indo Aryans, that these Vrātyas became absorbed into the Aryan fold by the Vrātya Stoma ceremony, which is, according to him, a conversion ritual, that these Vrātyas formed the warrior caste and fought battles on behalf of the Indo-Aryans, that the result of this synthesis of culture was the birth of the *Atharva Veda* and other later literature glorifying the Kṣatriyas

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS

Wars are attributed to certain psychological causes. Students of psychology and especially social psychology know that society is regarded as a vast group mind and that an individual is a part thereof, drawing his thoughts and purposes from it and contributing new thoughts and new purposes to it Society is generally studied from three points of view[6] firstly, it is limited by eternal and physical forces, as is seen from the social groupings and activities of primitive peoples, secondly, society is bound down by the forces and laws of organic life, as is seen in the tendencies of ancient peoples, not quite primitive, to form larger groups instead of the unorganized and isolated family groups, and, thirdly, society is subject to the laws of the mind, a stage in which 'the conditions of mind shall be the chief determinants of progress' It is only with this last phase that we are concerned here The compelling factors which guide and control the life and activity of society are instinct and habit The characteristic of all instinct is feeling and we detect no thought-processes in it But in habit we detect thought-processes Both instinct and habit have their own value, not to speak of the dangers peculiar to each With the broadening of the factor of intelligence, the value of instinct goes on diminishing and the value of habit goes on increasing But it is to be observed that too much habit sometimes retards the

in particular The theory is ingenious, but it is not convincing See also D R Bhandarkar's *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture* (Madras University, 1940), Lecture IV

6 For a fuller treatment of the subject see E J Urwick *A Philosophy of Social Progress* (Methuen, London, 1912)

faculty of thinking and consequently leads to mental stagnation

From this theoretical consideration we pass on to examine how instinct and habit fixed the ship of ancient Hindu society and its members, in the direction of constant wars either within or without the group In other words, we shall examine the psychological factors that led to ancient Hindu wars These may be stated (1) the mental atmosphere of the community being a caste society, (2) psychological barrenness of peace, (3) heroism and adventure, (4) human pugilism and pugnacity, (5) defence complex, (6) angry behaviour and spirit of jealousy and (7) the mastery motive

Delisle Burns tells us that the mental atmosphere of a modern community is unfavourable to war (This is unfortunately not true) Examining the mentality of the ancient Ksatriya community, *i e*, their mental atmosphere, we can have no hesitation in saying that it was favourable to war and heroic feats

(1) A CASTE SOCIETY

The ancient Hindu society was a caste society By this we mean a system of social organisation, the framework of which is without any parallel in the social institutions of the world The whole community was divided into four distinct groups (*varnas*) governed by different customs and rules which are still in force in India Separate occupations were assigned to each of these groups, to be followed hereditarily, though cases of lapses were not infrequent But occupation did not form the basis of caste, though in theory it marked one group from another Nor was race the basis of

caste, as Risley would have it[7] It was the natural outcome of social conditions which have been shaping themselves from primitive times This is clear from the relation in which caste stands to the ancient family institution It is the direct outcome of a system derived from a more or less spontaneous partition, where neither class-hierarchy nor theocracy played a significant role Senart rightly says 'The system under which India has lived is not purely an economic organisation of trades nor a chaos of strange and hostile tribes and races, nor again a simple class-hierarchy, but a mingling of all these, united by the common inspiration which dominates the functioning of all the groups, and by the community of characteristic ideas and prejudices which govern their order of precedence'[8]

The Varna system of the ancient Hindus implied the fourfold division of society into Brahmans, Ksatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras The Brahmans formed the group of philosophers and teachers, the Ksatriyas the group of rulers and warriors, the Vaiśyas the group of agriculturists and traders, and the Śūdras the group of men engaged in different menial services The idea gained ground that to follow one's own *dharma* and to sacrifice one's own life, if need be, in the prosecution of that *dharma*, was the highest duty expected of every citizen to whatever caste he belonged We may remember how Krsna laid emphasis on this point to the vacillating Arjuna who was out to fight his own kith and kin This is the plain teaching of the *Bhagavad Gītā* This insistence on *svadharma* is a sound economic concept

7 *Ethnographical Glossary*, p xxxiv

8 *Caste in India*, p 215

It lays the axe on the principles of individual freedom, the struggle for existence, and the survival of the fittest The individual is made to realise his responsibility and duty to himself, his family, country, state, and ultimately to God[9] In short, he is a member of a free corporate State He stands or falls with society and State He is part of it and not separate from it It is a peculiar concept by which the individual did his duty and yet enjoyed freedom Every caste realised its dependence on the other castes, and this tended to avoid caste wars Hereditary callings and the absence of competition helped an orderly movement, unlike the perpetual restlessness of modern society due to lack of equilibrium It is the strong bold bond, the corporate organisation, and recognised jurisdiction that stood to guarantee its perpetuity[10]

It is a fact that the ancient Hindu society was divided into a number of water-tight compartments It had all the evils of rigidity with little or no chance for elasticity A man, by virtue of his being born in a certain community, continued to be a member of that community all his life It became a hereditary social system where a Ksatriya could not become a Brahman, or *vice versa* This was considered as virtually trespassing the duties and rights of another community Any such trespass was punished by the State So the ancient Hindu society, as it was constituted, became necessarily a caste society, but with democratic social

9 Dikshitar *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, pp 40-41, *The Individual in Hindu Polity—Aryan Path*, Vol X No 4 (April 1939) *Society and State in Ancient India—Aryan Path*, Vol XI No 2 (February, 1940)

10 Senart, *op cit*, p 60

standards and conventions In that state of society, in which a whole caste was set apart for the purpose of war, it was inevitable that that caste should be actuated by a warlike *mentality, and that* peace was despised The assumption of that caste was that war was good for all time, and that war brought in its train not only glory to the individual knight but also glory and honour to the king and country This aspect of the psychological impulse will be examined presently But what deserves to be noted here is that with a settled community whose function was to defend the country by offensive or defensive methods, the mental atmosphere quickened the impulse to develop war-preparedness This attitude of the mind was not entirely the result of a spirit of adventure but wholly the result of the realisation of the fact that by war the warrior and the hero were doing a piece of service which tended towards the common good and which was consequently acceptable to the common will This was an important concept which was realised in abundant measure by every member of the Hindu warrior caste

(2) PSYCHOLOGICAL BARRENNESS OF PEACE

It has already been explained that in a society where a separate caste was set up with the sole object of defending the kingdom from internal and external troubles, the tendencies to war were normal Being born warriors and barred by rules from taking to other professions, the Ksatriyas were impatient of peace In fact it is the psychological barrenness of peace that led to many wars in India's ancient history Our warriors in that period resembled the gallant knights of mediaeval Europe who took part in the Crusades to win back

Jerusalem for Christ, both a cause and an effect of chivalry Peace to the Ksatriyas was a kind of inactivity, of slow movement and of retrogression instead of progress It was not in their nature to be inactive To them peace begot war They believed honestly that peace was a negation of all noble service and noble energy It depressed their hearts and minds It depressed their spirit of enthusiasm and initiative On the other hand, their sincere belief was that to make war was a service that was noble and moral and promoted the welfare of their community and country Moved by such ideas and ideals, in accordance with the spirit of the age in which they lived, they took heroically to fighting But by this period war had become the duty of the State, and without the sanction of the State authority these warriors could not engage in wars of great magnitude However nothing prevented them individually from showing their prowess by engaging in a number of adventurous campaigns These campaigns had different motives behind them Chief among them were the capture of women, the lifting of cattle, the seizure of wealth or other loot These remind us of the wonderful race of heroes, the Normans, and the heroes of chivalry, the Black Prince, Sir John Chandos and Sir Walter of Manny as they still live in the pages of Froissart [11]

(3) HEROISM AND ADVENTURE

War is a school of strenuous life and heroism [12] War and adventure assuredly keep all who are engaged

11 See Strachey's intrn to *Le Morte D'Arthur* (Macmillan, 1907), p xli and *The Chronicles of Froissart* (Macmillan, 1913)

12 W James *The Variety of Religious Experience* (Longmans,

in them from treating themselves too tenderly The knights of ancient India were known as Śūras and sometimes Vīras, both the terms connoting that they were valorous The Śūras and Vīras held a much higher rank than the ordinary run of warriors In the *Atharva Veda Samhitā,* Indra is addressed as a Śūra, and is said to possess heroism hundredfold He pulled down the strongholds of Dasyus and scattered their army by slaying a hundred, a thousand, a ten thousand, and a hundred thousand millions [13] In fact the burden of the song in many a hymn of this Veda is heroism in exploits [14] Still above these were Rathis[15] and Mahārathis [16] The terms themselves are evidence of the fact that such Knights were expert charioteers, who earned such titles by their valorous deeds displayed in previous engagements Among those that won the laurel of a Rathi were Yayāti and Kārtavīrya Arjuna, both famous rājarsis The Mahārathas were there in numbers and all the five sons of King Ayusa who

1908), p 367 Cp N K Sidhanta—*The Heroic Age of India* (London, 1929)

13 Bk VIII, 8 1-7 (H O Series)

14 *Ibid*, Bk XIX 13 5-11

15 आत्मानंच सारथिं अश्वान् स्वसैन्य रक्षितु सम
प्रहर्तापरसैन्याना युद्धशास्त्रविशारद
युद्धशास्त्रेषु निपुण स रथित्वेन समत

16 एकोदश सहस्राणि योधयेत्यश्च धन्विना
पूर्वोक्त लक्षणैर्युक्त पार्थिवस्याऽपि रक्षक
महारथीऽति कथितो युद्धशास्त्रविशारदै ॥

escaped the fatal axe of Paraśurāma enjoyed the enviable status of Mahāratha. Thus by high-flown exploits did the ancient heroes win honourable titles, of whose deeds the epics and the Purāṇas are full.[17] Some of the champions again go by the name of Atiratha[18] and Apratiratha. In the later mediaeval works, like *Hariharacaturanga*, towards the close of Book vii, it is said that in a battle where a thousand śūras were slain the Kabandha engaged itself in a tāndava or devil dance. But the author of the *Hariharacaturanga* would go further and state that in a war where one śūra killed a thousand śūras like him, the Kabandha danced in glee. This devil dance in a war is not a later idea introduced into the military literature of the Hindus. That it was a very ancient concept is seen from the description of the battle on the Ganges between Śenguttuvan and northern kings in the *Śilappadikāram* where Śūra Śenguttuvan slew hundreds of śūras of Northern India, the Kabandha (Tamil—*Kavandam*) felt overjoyed at this, and to the accompaniment of music by the daughter of the Devil, danced what is called the Peykkuravai.[19]

CATTLE LIFTING

In times of peace, besides the time spent in hunting, the Ksatriyas took to a life of adventure to exercise their martial ardour. 'At a time such as that represented

17 See, for instance, the *Br. Purāna*, III. 68.20; 69.21.

18 अमितान्योधयेत्यश्च पूर्वोक्तगुणसयुत

विज्ञेयो अतिरथीनाम्ना शस्त्रास्त्रनिपुणस्सदा ॥

19 Canto xxvi, 11, 206-210. See the description also in *Kalingattupparani* 503-586 edited by Kannaiya Naidu (1941).

by the first story of the Epic, the warrior was always a robber and a pillager .This life was Knight's support, and cattle-lifting provided the needed gain '[20] All early raids were chiefly for cattle There are a large number of hymns in the *Atharva Veda* praying for the protection of cows and cattle In the thirteenth hymn of Book xix there are references to cow stalls and kine-winning chariots [21] From this reference and from that in Book vi, 67 3 we may conclude that cattle-lifting was practised on an extensive scale in the Vedic age In fact this was the primitive habit of savage tribes We see from the *Śilappadikāram* that the Eiynar's profession was lifting cattle, looting and highway robbery To these primitive men cattle constituted wealth, and a cattle raid meant the loss of one's property In the *Puṟapporul Venbāmālai* are given details which mark out the different stages of a military enterprise of the nature of cattle-lifting The soldiers who undertook this enterprise decked themselves with *vetchi* garland The owners of the herds who came out to rescue their cattle wore the *karandai*, a kind of basil, as their badge [22] That this primitive form of cattle-lifting survived even when people became civilised is seen in the *Mahābhārata*[23] where under instructions from Duryodhana, the king of the Trigarthas entered the city of Virāta and drove away the kine Uttara and Brhannalā (Arjuna in disguise) recovered the cattle after a straight fight In

20 E W Hopkins, *J A O S*, XIII, p 76

21 5 and 7 See also Bk II, 26, Bk IV, 21, Bk VI, 59

22 See *Vetcippadalam*, also Dikshitar *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, Sec vi

23 Mhb Virāt Parva, Chh xxxii ff

some cases, cattle-lifting was a prelude to military campaigns Another fact that may be remembered in this connexion is the large number of gifts in the shape of cattle given to the king by foreign allies

CAPTURING GIRLS

Another occasion for the display of heroism and the spirit of adventure by the early Ksatriya knights was afforded by the capture of maidens belonging to the neighbouring kings and countries Shall we attribute this tendency to the psychological instinct of sexual passion? It is well-known that this primitive practice of running away with girls was once universal and not peculiar to ancient India alone Indian conditions will be clear if we are sufficiently acquainted with the modes of marriage prevalent among the warrior caste The most advertised form of royal marriage was *svayamvara,* which gave the maid the right of choosing her own husband from among the princes assembled for the purpose [24] Surely we can trace in this form of marriage survivals of the earlier and much simpler form which consisted of knights meeting girls openly or secretly and carrying them away with or without the knowledge of their relatives In some cases the relatives of the girls acquiesced either because they themselves liked the match or felt too weak to offer a challenge to the captor The latter was more probable But a majority of such cases, as can be gathered from the fulness of descriptive details in the Epics and the Purānas, involved an outbreak of hostilities

24 For evidence in Buddhist Literature, see B C Law *A History of Pali Literature,* I, pp 278-79, II, p 459

It may not be out of place to cite an instance here Bhīsma, the royal sage, once met three girls in the course of his visit to Kāśi and carried them away He threw out a challenge to the party that came to recover them He fought with all the contestants and established his right of possession[25]

Such instances, which could be multiplied, were the outcome of the virile temper of the Ksatriya warriors in general It was accepted as a primitive form of marriage by the law-givers The law of the country named it the Gāndharva form of marriage, and brought it under the *rājasa* system which constituted three out of the eight forms of marriage in ancient India Does this mean rape and was it countenanced by ancient society? We certainly cannot call this method of adventure a rape, for there was the obligation on the part of the adventurer to treat the seized maiden as his wife for all legal and social purposes He could not and did not drive away or divorce her after the satisfaction of his lust In short, the captured maiden became the wedded wife of the knight. Thus behind the *rājasa* form is to be traced a thin veil of the *sātvika* element

Instances of forcible abduction are not wanting One signal instance is that of Rāvana, the Rāksasa king of Ceylon, carrying away by force and against her will, Sītā, the consort of Rāma, prince of Ayodhyā This resulted in the great Rāma-Rāvana yuddha in Lankā, which ended in the death of Rāvana with all his hosts, and in the triumph of Rāma We know again of the adultery committed by Vāli, king of

25 Mhb Ādiparva, 102, 3 ff

Kiskindhā, with the wife of his brother Sugriva, after driving him away by force out of the kingdom For this Vāli lost his life, for he was killed by Rāma on an earnest appeal from Sugriva.[26] These cases involved a deadly combat where invariably the aggrieved party came out crowned with victory Be it remembered that these captors belonged to the primitive tribes, who had emerged by the time of the *Rāmāyana* into a semi-civilised state We are led to infer that such practices were un-Aryan It may be noted, as pointed out by Hopkins in the case of Gāndharva marriages, that caste weds caste[27] The adventures of these gallant people were directed to the confines of the Ksatriya caste The girls of other castes, higher or lower, were not interfered with[28] But Hopkins is positively wrong when he states that 'even with high caste girls the king is fond of connecting himself without formality[29] The burden of proof lies on him who makes such a bold statement The practice is to marry 'down' and not 'up' Whatever this may be, it is important to note that the instinct of sex impelled by passion and emotion led to the capture of girls and also to rape[30] which often led to wars in the ancient world, sometimes of great magnitude

26 It may be noted that Sugrīva's marriage with Vāli's widow is no rape

27 The Nair *sambandam* in Malabar has been likened to Gāndharva marriage

28 Hopkins, *op cit*, p 168

29 *Ibid*

30 Cp The rape of the Sabine women.

(4) PUGNACITY

Added to this was the instinct of pugilism and pugnacity The Ksatriya warriors were taught and trained in such a way as to develop the spirit of pugnacity The Epic has it that the sword should hold what the sword has won

यदोजसा न लभते क्षत्रियो न तदश्नुते । V 74 23

What he does not win by strength is not his own Elsewhere the Epic rules thus [31] The highest duty and pleasure for a warrior is to die fighting in war Why is this? It is because one's death in a contest makes him live in heaven [32] Odd as it may seem, the ancient Hindu, to whatever caste he might belong, developed a peculiar mental attitude from his childhood that by doing his ordained duty he got his freedom from the bondage of samsāra (*i e* cycle of births and deaths), and enjoyed heavenly bliss as a guest of the gods Influenced by such moral ideals, no wonder the ancient warriors of the land depended on their boldness[33] and strength [34] To escape from the field of battle without fighting firmly and also to ask for quarter[35] were regarded heinous offences against both God and State. For is it not stated that to win victory or die in the field of battle is the eternal law promulgated by the Creator himself?[36] These sentiments which were largely supported by the then moral code made the Kurus' chief

31 Mhb, V, 160, 71
32 *Ibid*, II, 22, 18
33 *Ibid*, I, 202, 18
34 *Ibid*, II, 69, 15
35 *Ibid*, IV, 38, 29, V, 3, 20 ff
36 *Ibid*, V, 51, 51, IX, 31, 34

proclaim at the top of his voice 'I elect glory even at the cost of life'[37]

In the light of such regulations and principles governing the ancient Indian warrior caste, need it be said that the Ksatriyas, who were often prompted by the instinct of pugnacity, entered blindly upon wars which affected considerably all belligerents? Instead of trying 'to discount and to control these outbursts of collective pugnacity', ancient Hindu society encouraged them 'under a system of civilised legality' A warrior's code was based on law and custom, which not only countenanced but also sanctioned such a system as moral and legal It has been accepted that its operation leads to the development of the higher social life Speaking of India and China, a well-known psychologist remarks that 'the bulk of the people are deficient in pugnacious instinct'[38] The remark shows that the learned author has no correct vision of the Hindu social structure In a society which consisted of four castes, three castes were devoted to peaceful professions, and naturally the bulk of the people could not have been pugnacious But it needs repetition that with the military group pugilism and pugnacity were rampant If Hindu society had not subjected itself for long ages to a healthy diversity of functions and assimilation, there would not have been that progressive integration which has marked it for centuries It would have crumbled to pieces and we should have long ceased to exist as a vital race But it is this healthy social

37 Mhb, III, 300, 31

38 W Mcdougall *An Introduction to Social Psychology,* pp 281 82 (15th Edn—Methuen, London)

organisation that has preserved the Hindu nation in spite of frequent foreign invasions and ceaseless internal turmoil We are told that efforts are being made in the West to replace pugnacity by the emulative impulse This is only an experiment, and how far this tendency of emulation would supplant the pugnacious element, it is for the future historian to say

MATSYA NYAYA

The next question is how the instinct of pugnacity came to stay in the world and what was its contribution towards making it an important factor in the evolution of human nature? This question is answered by the psychologist thus 'The selection of the fit and the extermination of the less fit (among both individuals and societies) result from their conflicts with one another '[39] This is a very significant statement, for it is, in other words, the theory of *mātsya nyāya* Literally rendered, the term *mātsya nyāya* means the 'Rule of the Fish' What is the rule of the fish except the unwritten law of the bigger fish devouring the smaller ones? Elsewhere I have applied this term to the *arājaka* state We have an elaborate description of such a state of anarchy, as we should call it, both in the *Mahābhārata*[40] and in the *Rāmāyana*[41] The substance of these accounts in the epics shows that in an anarchical state the country is subject to plunder and devastation Life becomes unsafe There is no security of person or property The strong rob the weak and the innocent

39 W Mcdougall *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, p 295

40 Śānti Parva, Chh LXVI and LXVII

41 Ayodhyā, Ch LXVII

of their wealth Rape or violation of women is common Like fish in a pool of water or a herd of cows with no cow-herd, people injure and kill one another There is no reverence for parents, teachers, or the aged Agriculture and industry suffer There are no regular marriages, and the intermixture of castes is free Religious authorities are openly defied No one sleeps without fear [42]

This state of anarchy presupposes a state of nature where one notices a chronic warfare between strong and weak individuals in a group and between strong and weak groups Often the weak are defeated and subjugated by the strong This epic idea is stressed with much emphasis in the Dharmaśāstras like that of Manu,[43] the Purānas like the *Matsya*,[44] and in later works like the *Yuktikalpataru*,[45] and Raghunātha's *Laukīka Nyāya Sangraha* [46] What does all this show except that before the introduction of popular monarchy investing the holder of that office with powers of *daṁda*, in the light of the established law of the realm, the communities were subject to no law and suddenly developed a combative instinct excited by crude sentiment? Hence the necessity of putting down individual idiosyncrasies and building up a society which would develop a spirit of altruism and extend the virtues of family life to groups and nations The foundation of monarchy and a new social order based on functions brought to an end the

42 *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, pp 19 27

43 Manu, VII, 20 and Kullūkabhatta's gloss thereon

44 *Matsya Purāna*, Ch 225, v 9

45 *Yuktikalpataru*, 105

46 *Laukīka-Nyāya-Sangraha*, *Pandit Series*, 1901, p 122

concept of *mātsya nyāya* Occasionally its effects were felt It is said that in the ninth century A D the people elected as king, Gopāla, the father of the more famous Dharmapāla, of the Pāla dynasty, in order to free themselves from the prevailing state of *mātsya nyāya* * This shows that there is considerable truth in the statement No State, no Society Unless a strong executive authority places restraints on common impulses like jealousy, fear, passion, these are brought into play in the everyday life of the citizen So in their social order the ancients merged the individual into the group by making him one of the group and in the group, so that he was to subordinate his opinion to the group-opinion By means of group organisation and devolution of powers, the state in ancient India solved many social, economic, and even political problems that confront the modern politician and statesman in the civilised world [47]

(5) DEFENCE COMPLEX

We may now pass on to another psychological source of war To-day we believe honestly and sincerely that defence and means of defence are quite essential for every nation to maintain its code of honour and to sustain the special national interests Whatever theorists may say on the ethics of defence, it has come to stay as a force in politics, whether we will it or no We therefore cannot ignore it but have to reckon with it as a necessary institution whether it is unmoral or non-moral To-day capitalism and imperialism, infringe-

* Jayaswal *Imperial History of India*, p 42

47 Dikshitar *'State and Society in Ancient India'—Aryan Path*, Vol XI, No 2

ment of trade rights, etc, have often been sufficient grounds for the outbreak of war Again, the defence of a small state against the aggression of a big neighbouring power has been a cause of wars among the great powers in modern times

The economic factor as a cause of war did not loom large in the Indian horizon In ancient India the State was itself a producing and manufacturing concern All the key industries were undertaken by the State There was little or no private enterprise. and the jealous eye of the State watched even this carefully This system prevented the formation of a capitalist class which has become a potent force in modern politics Nor were there war-traders in ancient India[48] The duty of these traders lies in the supply of arms and armaments to the soldiers Their business thrives only as long as war goes on So they leave no stone unturned to infuse into the nation the war spirit In ancient India there was, to our knowledge, no private firm which manufactured weapons of war Their manufacture and supply were a State monopoly There was the arsenal which was a department attached to the War Office There may have been in ancient India an economic motive on the part of the State to build up a sound economic democracy, as in the case of Dandaka, an ancestor of Rāma, king of Ayodhyā, who realised the economic value of the forests to his empire, which was in itself a plain country, and who therefore led an expedition to South India as far as Kiskindhā and brought the whole forest territory of the Dakhan under his control It is difficult to look for

48 G H Perris *The War Traders* (Chancery Lane Press, 1914)

economic causes which could have led to wars in ancient India Society and State were so constituted that no economic distress of an acute kind stared the ancient Indian in the face Though we can trace overseas trade at the time of the Rg Veda, where a certain merchant Bhujja is mentioned as shipwrecked in the course of his commercial adventures, nowhere is there any evidence to show that international trade relations led to the outbreak of war

DEFENCE AND AGGRESSION

The ancient Hindus were a sensitive people, and their heroes were instructed that they were defending the noble cause of God, Crown and Country Viewed in this light, war departments were 'defence' departments and military expenditure was included in the cost of defence In this, as in many cases, ancient India was ahead of modern ideas All defence reduced to a theory becomes aggression For what is defence to one nation is aggression to the other, and *vice versa* The impulse of menace and a spirit of jealousy were the chief factors which actuated ancient Indian kingdoms and empires, and hence we find every writer on Artha-śāstra and Nītisāra insisting upon a heavy military expenditure for defence

FEAR IMPULSE

Every empire, not to speak of every small independent State, was obsessed by the fear impulse, as the psychologist calls it [49] A sense of insecurity of life was often lurking in the State mind, and this led to the organisation of an elaborate machinery of defence

49 R S Woodworth *Psychology* (1930), p 256

Many hymns in the *Atharva Veda* reflect this state of mind, which are designated under the group *abhaya gana* of *Kauśika Sūtra* (16-8) A few of them may be reproduced here *

'What we fear, O Indra, make thou fearlessness for us of it, O bounteous One, help that for us by thy aids, smite away haters, away scorners

'Do thou knowing, lead us towards broad space, light that is heavenly, fearlessness, well-being, may we dwell under the formidable arms of thee the stout one, O Indra (those two) great refuges

'May the atmosphere make for us fearlessness fearlessness both heaven and earth here fearlessness from behind, fearlessness from in front from above, from below, be there fearlessness for us

'Fearlessness from friend, fearlessness from enemy, fearlessness from one known, fearlessness from one away, fearlessness for us by night, fearlessness by day, be all places my friend' (Bk xix, 15) See also *Ibid*, 16

'Let Agni with the Vasus protect me on the east, in him I step, in him I take refuge to that stronghold I go forward let him defend me, let him guard me to him I commit myself Hail!' (Bk xix, 17 1 etc)

Added to this may be cited another hymn of the *Atharva Veda* (Bk vi, 40)

'Let fearlessness, O heaven and earth, be here for us Let Soma, Savitar, make us fearlessness be the wide atmosphere fearlessness for us and by the oblation of seven seers be there fearlessness for us'

* W D Whitney's trn

'For this village let the four directions—let Savitar make for us sustenance, well-being, welfare let Indra make for us freedom from foes, fearlessness let the fury of kings fall on elsewhere'

'Freedom from enemies for us below, freedom from enemies for us above O Indra, make us freedom from enemies for us behind, freedom from enemies in front'

On account of this fear the ancient Kśatriya prayed to Indra and other Vedic deities for success over enemies, and these are called battle-hymns [50] One verse runs as follows

'Let their weapons fall down let them not be able to fit the arrow then, of them fearing much let arrows strike in the vitals' [51]

Again, 'Let not the piercers find us nor let the penetrators find (us) far from us make the volleys fly, dispersing, O Indra'

Among the deities invoked for this purpose were Arbudi and Nyarbudi as allies of Indra, as also Trisandhi [52] One form of prayer consisted of oblations like the thousand-slaying *homa* [53]

This fear was reciprocal A subject nation, for example, entertains fears of being swallowed by the imperial power some day or other On the other hand, the imperial power would closely watch the movements of this subject kingdom, lest it should slowly mobilise its forces in secret and raise the standard of revolt having always an eye to the proper time and place For

50 Sāmgrāmikāni—Bk I, 19, Bk II, 19, Bk VI, 65, Bk VII, 62 and 92, Bk VIII, 8

51 A V Bk VIII 8 20

52 *Ibid*, Bk XI, 11, 4 and 23

53 *Ibid*, Bk VIII, 17, Cp Bk XI, 9 and 10

instance, Kalinga, a subject country under Candragupta Maurya and his son,[53a] rebelled when Aśoka came to the throne Aśoka had to invade this kingdom and reconquer it at the expense of many lives including the innocents Thus the subject kingdom which was actuated by the motive of getting rid of the yoke of imperial power, was keen on its defence Instances of this type may be multiplied

(6) ANGRY BEHAVIOUR

If the fear impulse is of the defence-complex, angry behaviour is of the aggression-complex [54] Śenguttuvan wanted to lead an expedition to the North and show off to the kings there his prowess But no activity is aroused by the motive alone Given the right stimulus and the motive, there comes automatically the response [55] While the king was sitting in the audience hall, filled with resentment at the insult offered to him by northern kings in their joint social meeting, there came the suggestion to found a temple to the chaste Kannaki by carving the deity on a stone taken either from the Podiyil or the Himalayas When it was agreed to consecrate the temple in honour of Pattini Devī, Śenguttuvan said that he would get the slab of stone from the Himalayas after duly bathing it in the Ganges and reducing to subjection the northern kings if they should resist him Soon he made elaborate preparations for the expedition and set out for the north He extended his arms successfully, defeated a confederacy of northern kings,

53a See Dikshitar *The Mauryan Polity,* pp 55-57, Madras University 1932

54 See in this connexion hymns 42 and 43 of Bk VI, *A V* to remove wrath and to assuage wrath

55 Woodworth *op cit,* ch vi

and after imprisoning the chief monarchs, Kanaka and Vijaya, he made them bear on their heads the slab of stone to his distant capital at Vañji in Tamil India.[56]

An examination of this war fought by Śenguttuvan on the banks of the Ganges shows that it was not a defensive one, but was due to the aggressive impulse on the part of the monarch. 'If you would avoid war, study human beings, study in particular the impulses of aggression, and study them first where they are more readily open to inspection in yourself.'[57] Whatever views theorists may hold on the defence-complex, it is not possible to deny that aggression may be caused even by a slight provocation. We cannot get over the fact that impulses of aggression have led to several wars in ancient India. For the effective discharge of such aggressive impulses, sadistic and masochistic, war-mongering provided, as it even now does, an admirable channel, though the belligerents on either side knew full well that in injuring others they injured themselves. In several cases when we speak of defence as one of the causes of war, we speak, possibly consciously, in terms of aggression. If we turn to the pages of the Purānas we find that the Haihaya king was responsible for the death of Jamadagni, father of Paraśurāma. The natural thing for Paraśurāma would have been to avenge his father's murder. Instead of stopping with this, in a fit of exasperation he resolved to ruin root and branch the Ksatriya race for twenty-one genera-

56 Dikshitar *Śilappadikāram*, Intrn pp 3-8.

57 Edward Glover *War, Sadism and Pacifism* (Allen & Unwin).

tions It was a mad venture, we may say, based on an aggressive spirit Animated by such destructive impulses, Paraśurāma went on persecuting one Ksatriya prince after another There would not have been a Ksatriya community after him, had not some princes hidden themselves in caves and forests out of his sight and come out after the bloody conqueror had ceased fighting

THE SPIRIT OF JEALOUSY

In the examination of this jealousy motive we find an unbridled indulgence of almost all evil passions The *Atharva Veda* (Bk V, 8 3) says 'Let not the gods go to his call, come ye only unto my call' Jealousy, if nothing else, was the real cause of the great Mahābhārata war fought at the historic Kuruksetra, the belligerents being the Pāndavas and Kauravas who were after all agnates When king Pāndu was unable to wield the reins of administration, Dhrtarāstra was elected to the throne The five sons of Pāndu and the hundred sons of Dhrtarāstra were trained by common teachers, and the Pāndavas gained the knowledge of science and the use of weapons much more quickly and much more easily than the Kauravas At this the Kauravas became jealous of their cousins, and from that time they, under the guidance of their eldest brother Duryodhana, laid plans to get rid of the growing power and influence of the Pāndavas Krsna, the king of Dvāraka and a skilled diplomat, saw the justice of the Pāndava cause and threw his whole weight on their side This further increased the jealousy of Duryodhana who sought secret means to do away with the five brothers Finding that all his plans had failed, Duryodhana angered his cousins to such a pitch that nothing

short of war, it was thought, would result Huge forces were brought into the field especially by Duryodhana, and war was waged for eighteen days We need not enter into the details here The result was that all the Kauravas and their soldiers were ruthlessly killed, and the Pāndavas won a decisive victory The Bharatakanda lay at the feet of Yudhisthira, the royal sage and his four brothers The Pāndavas became the virtual rulers of all India and their alliance was sought by many a prince including those of the Tamil kingdoms of the South, with whom the Pāndavas had relations of a social and political nature If we are to believe the second stanza in the anthology of the Tamil classic *Puranānūru,* it is one Udiyan Ceral that fed the combatants of the Mahābhārata war

(7) THE MASTERY MOTIVE

Jealousy brought in its train imperialistic notions of overlordship (*ādhipatya*) and love of glory This mental attitude is reflected in several hymns of the *Atharva Veda* One hymn says *

'Unto our glorious Indra, rich in glory, would we rendering homage, with glories pay worship, do thou bestow on us royalty quickened by Indra in thy bestowal here may we be glorious'

'Glorious was Indra, glorious was Agni, glorious was Soma born Glorious, of all existence am I most glorious' (Bk vi, 39)

'Glorious let the bounteous Indra make me
Glorious both earth and heaven here
Glorious let god Savitar make me'

* W D Whitney's trn

> 'As Indra is possessed of glory in heaven and earth, as the waters are possessed of glory in the herbs, so among all the gods may we, among all, be glorious'
>
> 'Glorious was Indra, glorious was Agni, glorious was Soma born glorious, of all existence am I most glorious' (Bk vi, 58)
>
> 'O ye Aśvins, lords of beauty! Anoint me with the honey of bees, that I may speak brilliant words with the people'
>
> 'In me (be) splendour, also glory, also the fatness that belongs to the offering, let Prajāpati fix that in me, as the heaven in the sky' (*Ibid*, 69)

The prospect of glory is itself an incentive to deeds of heroism To quote the *Atharva Veda* again, there is a hymn addressed to Indra thus

> 'O Indra, come to my call. this will I do that hear thou let these overrunners of Indra's bring to pass my design by them may we be equal to heroism' (Bk v, 8 2)

The terms empire and imperial sway, as I have explained elsewhere,[58] do not connote the meaning by which we understand these terms to-day The Roman Empire meant the gradual extension of Roman citizenship and Roman law and the spread of the Latin tongue The British Commonwealth means the establishment of British methods of law and order, the use of the English language for purposes of administration, and the development of British democratic institutions Imperial sway in ancient India meant the active rule of an individual monarch who by his ability and prowess brought to subjection the neighbouring chieftains and

58 *The Mauryan Polity*, pp 71 ff

other rulers, and proclaimed himself the sole ruler of the earth This goes by the name of *digvijaya* It is not necessary that he should conquer all States by the sword. A small State might feel the weight of a conquering king and render obeisance of its own accord Whether this willing subordination is sincere or feigned, open or veiled, the fact is that it is there The acknowledgement of overlordship of a certain monarch or the willing acquiescence of lesser powers to a greater power invests the greater power with the halo of imperialism

The position of subdued or vassal States was that they retained their old methods of administration, their laws and customs, their language and their religion The visible manifestation of their subordinate capacity lay in periodical payment of tribute and presents, assistance in war, and the absence of separate foreign relations [59] Under weaklings the empire broke down and under the powerful it was built up Need it be said that in any case defence was absolutely essential either to the Imperial power or to the vassal State? According to the Śangam classics, each of the respective rulers of the chief Tamil kingdoms, the Cēra, Cōla and Pāndya, carried his sword as far north as the Himalayas, and implanted on its lofty heights his respective crest the bow, the tiger, and the fish

In these adventures which the Tamil Kings underwent for their glorification, they did not lag behind their northern brethren The very epithet *Imayavaramban* shows that the limits of the empire under that Emperor extended to the Himalayas in the north This title was

59 Cp N N Law *Inter-state Relations in Ancient India* pp 62-63 (Calcutta Oriental Series, 1920)

also earned by Ceran Śenguttuvan by his meritorious exploits in the north Names like the Cōla Pass in the Himalayan slopes, which in very early times connected Nepal and Bhutan with ancient Tibet, give a certain clue to the fact that once our Tamil kings went so far north as the Himalayas and left their indelible marks in those regions [60] If in the epic age a Rāma and an Arjuna could come to the extremity of our peninsula, and in the historical period a Candragupta or a Samudragupta could undertake an expedition to this part of our country, nothing could prevent a king of prowess and vast resources like the Cēra king Śenguttuvan from carrying his arms to the north The route lay through the Dakhan plateau, the Kalinga, Malva, and the Ganges Perhaps it was the ancient Daksinapatha route known to history from the epoch of the *Rg Veda Samhitā* These expeditions were prompted by what the psychologists would call the mastery or self-assertive motive This is clearly illustrated by a hymn of the *Atharva Veda* (Bk iv, 22 1)

> ‘ Increase, O Indra, this Ksatriya for me make thou this man sole chief of the clans unman all his enemies make them subject to him in the contests for pre-eminence ’
>
> ‘ Of lion aspect, do thou devour all the clans of tiger aspect, do thou beat down the foes sole chief, having Indra as companion, having conquered seize thou on the enjoyments of them that play the foe ’ (*Ibid*, 7)

Again, the king who became conqueror of all India

60 See M Raghava Iyengar’s article in *Kalaimagal* Vol I pp 56-63

was entitled to the distinction of being called a Samrāt In the Purānic period the great Kārtavīrya Arjuna of the Haihaya clan spread his arms throughout the ancient Indian continent and earned the title of Samrāt The same principle of glory and distinction underlay the performance of the sacrifices, Asvamedha and Rājasūya, which were intended only for the members of the Ksatriya community Sometimes these *yajñas* were made by a prince in the evening of his life, after he had attained a ripe age when he could no more bear arms effectively and was about to retire to a life of peace and prayer, leaving the responsibilities of the kingdom to his successor, invariably the eldest son Dāśarathi Rāma and the Pāndava Yudhisthira engaged themselves in such sacrifices after the historic battles in which they took leading and glorious parts Coming nearer home, we find Śenguttuvan performing a Vedic sacrifice after his return from the north where he defeated all the northern monarchs

A prominent feature of the Aśvamedha consisted of letting a sacrificial horse roam about the country as it pleased, and it was open to other chieftains either to allow it to go its way, or keep the animal in their territorial limits, which was a signal for claiming superiority and hence preparedness to fight out Often the horse went unrestrained But there were cases where jealous kings resented and the resentment led to fighting Everyone knows the fate which overtook the sixty thousand sons of Sagara in the course of their search for the sacrificial horse We are told again that the young sons of Rāma—Lava and Kuśa—had the sacrificial animal of Rāma bound, and this led to a great fight In these cases the army was not certainly maintained for

defences but to satisfy the vain-glorious temperament of certain monarchs

Their vanity did not end here. It was often nurtured by avidity to attain *Indratvam* These ancient Ksatriya monarchs believed very seriously—though this may seem irrational or superstitious—that by performing a hundred Aśvamedha sacrifices, they got the higher status of Indra The performer became the king of the gods and lord of heaven

In this connexion we may quote one or two hymns of the *Atharva Veda* which fairly represent this idea or ideal

> 'Now do I adorn this man as superior to his fellow, for attainment of Indra, do thou increase his authority, his great fortune, as the rain the grass'.
>
> 'For him, O Agni and Soma, maintain ye dominion, for him wealth in the sphere of royalty make ye him superior to his fellow'
>
> 'Whoever, both related and unrelated, assails us, every such one mayest thou make subject to me, the sacrificer, the soma-presser' (Bk vi, 54)

It was an age of crude mythology To go to heaven and become the lord of heaven was the ruling passion of every monarch If one Aśvamedha yajña meant an enormous amount of money, time, and energy, it may well be imagined what a hundred Aśvamedhas would cost No wonder there were perpetual wars, now with one king, now with another Such religious beliefs and traditions made wars inevitable The Aśvamedha was certainly an instrument to provoke the feelings of fellow-monarchs, equal, superior, and inferior The smaller powers acquiesced generally, but the greater powers, to

use a modern term, challenged and provoked war A study of these wars, from a psychological point of view, shows that what is defence to one state is aggression to the other, and *vice versa* This sort of imperialism on the part of the ancient Hindu monarchs to become Samrāts and their kingdoms to be developed into Sāmrājyas, was of the nature of federal units centring round a dominating emperor [61] The attainment of Ekarājatvam or the sole kingship of all the then known earth, was often attended by the sacrifice of Aśvamedha,[62] a ceremony performed by an emperor already consecrated to rulership This bears testimony to 'the existence of the territorial ideal of a one-State India' (Cakravartikṣetram of Kautalya) These kings were called Sārvabhaumas[63] and Ekarāts

A hymn of the *Atharva Veda* is pertinent

'Chief of Indra, chief of heaven, chief of earth is this man, chief of all existence do thou be sole chief'

'The ocean is the master of the streams Agni is controller of the earth, the moon is master of the asterisms do thou be sole chief

'Universal ruler art thou of Asuras, summit of human beings part-sharer of the gods art thou do thou be sole chief'[63a]

Vedic kings aimed at it, and epic rulers realised it The idea of *ekarāt* continued down to Buddhist

61 See Jayaswal *Hindu Polity* I p 137

62 *Sāt Br* XIII, 7 1

63 See Pānini, V, 1, 41-2

63a वृषेन्द्रस्य वृषा दिवो वृषा पृथिव्या अयम् ।

वृषा विश्वस्य भूतस्य त्वमेकवृषो भव ॥

times and even later The Jātakas, which are said to belong to the fifth or sixth century B C , make pointed reference to an all-India empire[64] Two centuries later Kautalya records the international relations between an Ekarāja and the Sangha, and recommends the cementing of the alliance with subsidy and peace, and in the case of refractory Sanghas, with war[65] This concept of an all-India empire stretching from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, according to Kautalya[66] receives further support from another important political term *ekacchatra,* or one-umbrella sovereignty To add to these notions of imperial rule we have the theory of Kanika Bharadvāja, a political thinker who figures in the *Mahābhārata* and whose view is apparently rejected by Kautalya, namely the usurpation of degenerate dynasties These pieces of evidence go to prove, beyond doubt, that imperialism as understood and realised in ancient India was one of the causes of chronic warfare

Thus a number of psychological factors prompted the ancient Ksatriya to approach the problem of war, and made war inevitable As already pointed out, there was one fundamental and vital difference between the

समुद्र ईशे स्रवतामग्नि पृथिव्या वशी ।
चन्द्रमा नक्षत्राणामीशे त्वमेकवृषोभव ॥
सम्राडस्यसुराणा ककुन्मनुष्याणाम् ।
देवानामर्धभागसि त्वमेकवृषो भव ॥

64 Sakala Jambūdvīpa eka rājyam 4

65 Ar Śās Bk XI, 1

66 Ar Śās Bk IX, 1

systems of ancient Indian warfare and those of modern times In ancient India war affected only the War Department of the State and the warrior class It did not eat into the vitals of the social structure, as it does to-day Society pursued the arts of peace, trade, and commerce unaffected by the wars that were fought now and then A kingdom conquered and a king vanquished meant no disturbance to the age-long civil administration of the kingdom Often the defeated kings were reinstated, and the old administration was suffered to exist so long as that king acknowledged the sovereignty of the emperor by tribute and other means This was the nature of imperial conquest and imperial rule in ancient India

Though wars were frequent, they were not recklessly entered into and ruthlessly fought There was no slaughter of innocents Policy and method characterised these wars Immoral and unrighteous modes of war were as far as possible avoided, and they were put into operation only if exigency dictated such a course We shall examine these in the following pages

CHAPTER II

THE LAWS OF WAR

SECTION I

THE WARRIOR'S CODE

War was inevitable in primitive communities as there was neither a social organization nor a pronounced political status. In the earlier stages of civilisation war was regarded as a normal feature of life. But with the growth of civilisation, war came to be looked upon as a serious business, which should not be entered into recklessly and ruthlessly but should be governed by ethical and moral codes. From the earliest times the warrior was a robber and a pillager, as we see in the Eiynar tribe described in the *Śilappadikāram*. But when society became organised and a warrior caste came into being, it was felt that the members of this caste should be governed by certain humane laws, the observance of which, it was believed, would take them to heaven, while their non-observance would lead them into hell. In the Vedic age we have no evidence to indicate the existence of an accepted code of fighting. Political society was just then emerging from the tribal community. But in the post-Vedic epoch, and especially before the epics were reduced to writing, lawless war had been supplanted, and a code had begun to govern the waging of wars. The ancient law-givers, the reputed authors of the *Dharmasūtras* and the *Dharmaśāstras* codified the

then existing customs and usages for the betterment of mankind Thus the law books and the epics contain special sections on royal duties and the duties of common warriors The seers and the legists thought that the high road to peace lay in the consummation of a social order guided by a code of humane laws, moral and ethical in character

It would be interesting to study the rules which restrained the warrior's whims and ennobled his character and conduct In this study we have to distinguish between general rules and special rules, *sādhārana dharma* and *svadharma* With regard to general rules, it is incumbent on the Brahman to perform six duties learning, instructing, sacrificing, causing sacrifices to be performed, making gifts, and receiving gifts [1] Of these, three were common to the Ksatriyas also learning, sacrificing and making gifts The Ksatriyas were exempt from the other duties enjoined on the Brahmans, *viz*, instructing, causing sacrifices to be performed, and receiving gifts [2] These three were considered the special duties of the Brahman community and intended to benefit society at large By imparting instruction and by performing sacrifices, which services entitled him to receive gifts, the Brahman ministered to the education and religion of the people The Ksatriya was not expected to do these offices, which would considerably hamper his special *dharma* and create a breach in the established social order

The functions common to both the communities—learning, sacrificing, and bestowing gifts—were intended

1 *Manu*, X, 75
2 *Ibid*, 77

for their moral and spiritual elevation in society Manu lays down that in addition to these three functions, the Ksatriyas should attend to the defence of the country (*prajānām rakṣanam*), and be moderate in the enjoyment of worldly pleasures like dancing, music, and women[3] It was realized that the Ksatriya's excessive indulgence in ephemeral pleasures would be detrimental to his very responsible work of defending the country from external attacks and internal risings[4]

The first and foremost among the general duties was study, *adhyayanam* The period of study for a Ksatriya commenced at the age of six and continued up to the end of his twenty-second year,[5] when the warrior usually took to arms This was so only in theory In practice sixteen was considered the normal age to get the Ksatriya knighthood and to entitle him to enter the field of battle[6] When the sage Viśvāmitra wanted to take the boy Rāma to fight the Rāksasas in the forests, Daśaratha pleaded that he was not yet sixteen,[7] with the implication that sixteen was normally the age at which boyhood ordinarily terminated In the *Mahābhārata* again we are told that Prince Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna, became a full-fledged knight at the age of sixteen[8] He had been married and had already been in the battle-field These facts show the difference that existed between theory and practice

3 *Ibid*, I, 89

4 See the commentary of Naccinārkkiniyār on the Sūtram 75 Purattiyal of the *Tolkāppiyam*

5 *Manu*, II, 37-38

6 *Mhb*, Drona Parva, 193 66, 194 43

7 *Rāmāyana* I 23 2, III 42 23

8 *Mhb*, Ādi Parva, 68 118

What was the curriculum of studies planned for the Ksatriya, and how far was the plan executed? If we are to believe the tradition recorded in the *Raghuvamśa*, the education of the prince commenced in his third year, when he learnt from his teacher the alphabet (*lipi*) and numbers (*samkhyāna*)[9] The *Arthaśāstra* of Kautalya prescribes a programme of studies[10] which includes *trayī* or the three Vedas, *ānvīksiki* or logic, *vārta* or economics, and *dandanīti* or the science of politics It may be inferred that the higher studies were commenced at the age of eleven, if we are to believe the *Mānava-dharmaśāstra*[11] It may be noted that experts in the various subjects of study were appointed teachers It is of capital importance to note that *adhyaksas* or heads of administrative departments and *vaktras* and *prayoktras*, expounders and administrators of law, were engaged to teach the warriors the secular sciences of economics and politics The idea was to make the educational training as practical as it could be

The other studies consisted of the various branches of military science, usually called *Dhanur Veda* This particularly related to the use and handling of different arms and armaments While the forenoon was devoted to learning the theory and practice of arms, the afternoon was devoted to the hearing of Itihāsa The education of a Ksatriya was not considered complete if he had not either himself studied the Itihāsas or heard them read to him It was deemed that this study of the Itihāsas, or historical accounts of the

9 *Raghuvamśa*, III 28
10 *Ar Śās* Bk I 5
11 *Manu*, II 36

exploits and adventures of his great ancestors, was quite essential to a young Ksatriya, so that he might follow their example, their policy, and administration in order to achieve success for himself [12] As the time of studentship was limited and the programme of studies was heavy and ambitious, a class of bards called Sūtas were engaged to narrate to him such stories at a certain fixed time daily The evening and the early portion of the night were devoted to learning new and difficult lessons The Ksatriyas were taught in the homes of their teachers, generally away from the bustle of the town and consequently unused to a life of luxury [13] Education was so devised that it nurtured in them the virtue of discipline (*vidyāvinīta*) [14] So much importance was attached to discipline and to obedience to teachers Whatever the teachers wished to have in the form of *gurudaksinā*, the pupils were ready to give at any cost and under any circumstances The *Artha-śāstra*[15] insists on a period of apprenticeship for the pupil which consists of learning the practical side of his

12 Cf Sivāji's education by Dādāji Kondadev in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Sivāji*

13 Compare this with what prevailed in ancient and mediaeval times in the West The castles of princes and nobles were the schools where the knight received his education from about the age of seven or eight Instruction was provided as to how to guide a war horse, how to use the bow and the arrow, and how to manage a lance, all this by making him ride against a wooden figure In this period he was called a squire till he was twenty He was next 'to win his spurs' as it was called, and be admitted into the order of knighthood (Eileen Power and G C Coulton)

14 *Ar Śās* Bk I, 17-18, Cf *Śukra* II 41-50, *Agni*, P 225, 1-3 See also Dikshitar *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, pp 107-109

15 Bk 1, 18

duties as a subordinate to an administrative superior At the termination of the practical training the Ksatriya was drafted to service and deemed worthy of occupying an independent position

Great care was taken to promote the welfare of the individual even from birth by means of a number of sacraments, or *samskāras* The naming of a child, to whatever caste it belonged, was considered a day of festivity and rejoicing Only auspicious names, mostly names of their chosen gods and goddesses, were given to children We are told in the *Manimēkalai* how the whole city was present on the occasion of the naming ceremony of Manimekalai, the daughter of Mādhavi by Kōvalan The cognomen of the name for a Ksatriya was to be Varma, as that of the Brahman was Śarma [16] The investiture was to be celebrated at the age of eleven to entitle a Ksatriya to style himself a *dvija* or twice-born [17]

Next came the outfit of the Ksatriyas The sacred thread was made of hemp The Ksatriya wore a girdle made either of *muñja* grass with iron pieces[18] tied to it or of a bow-string [19] The girdle of a Brahman was *muñja* grass, and to distinguish it from that of a Ksatriya, pieces of iron were added to the *muñja* grass This seems to have been an alternative to the girdle of a bow-string, as the ancient Ksatriya was generally a bowman He held a staff reaching the forehead The warrior should not carry any kind of staff, though

16 *Manu*, II, 32
17 *Manu*, II, 36, *Gautama*, I 13, *Āpastamba*, I 11 18
18 *Āpastamba* I, 1 2 35
19 *Vasistha*, XI, 59

Āśvalāyana would permit it[20] The staff was made of banyan or acacia wood[21] Every caste had its own kind of staff But the rule was that the higher the caste the longer the staff The height was determined by the social position of the caste

We may next turn our attention to the dress of the Ksatriya The dress marked out one community from another The under-wear of a Ksatriya invariably consisted of a deer skin, and that of a Vaiśya of a goat skin Except in war-time the Ksatriya spent his time in hunting, and as a hunter he wore the deer skin The same may be said of the Vaiśya who was an agriculturist Flax was the material used in the making of his upper garment The dress of the Ksatriya consisted of an upper garment and an under garment A cloak was also worn, and when it was worn it was dyed with madder[22] He was enjoined by the law-givers to follow special modes of dressing, building houses,[23] wearing jewels, and saluting It is interesting to note that his salutation was made by 'extending the arm out at a level with the chest'[24]

Marriage formed an important part of the social life of the warrior From a free state of marriage, as is connoted by the legend in the *Mahābhārata* of Śvetaketu, introducing regulations for marriage, counterpart of which in Tamil literature is the term *makatt-pāt kāñji* in the *Tolkāppiyam*, we pass on to a settled

20 *Grhya Sūtra,* 1 20 1

21 *Gautama,* I, 23 *Vasistha,* XI, 53, 56

22 See Hopkins, *op cit*, 105-6

23 *Āś Gr Sūt*, II, 8 7, *Agni Purāna* ch 258

24 *Āp* I, 2 5-16

social organization The existing practices and usages were codified Otherwise it is difficult to explain the eight forms of marriage as being prevalent These are brāhma, daiva, ārsa, prājāptya, āsura, gāndharva, rāksasa, and paiśāca [25] Of these the paiśāca was condemned as the lowest form of marriage To a warrior four forms of marriage are recommended—āsura, gāndharva, rāksasa, and paiśāca [26] The *Mahābhārata* allows the Ksatriyas the first six forms of marriage—brāhma, daiva, ārsa, prājāpatya, āsura, and gāndharva [27] Later on, the epic prescribes the rāksasa form also to the kings, thus making a distinction between Ksatriya kings and ordinary warriors The epic is not in favour of the paiśāca and āsura forms of marriage for any member of any caste Apparently these practices were becoming obsolete at that time The Ksatriya kings were permitted to have the gāndharva form of marriage primarily

25 चतुर्णामपि वर्णानां प्रेत्य चेह हिताहितान् ।
अष्टाविमान्समासेन स्त्रीविवाहान्निबोधत ॥
ब्राह्मो दैवस्तथैवार्ष प्राजापत्यस्तथासुर ।
गान्धर्वो राक्षसश्चैव पैशाचश्चाष्टमोऽधम· ॥ *Manu,* III 20-21

26 षडानुपूर्व्या विप्रस्य क्षत्रस्य चतुरोऽवरान् ।
विट्शूद्रयोस्तु तानेव विद्याधर्म्यान्न राक्षसान् ॥ *Ibid*, 23

27 प्रशस्ताश्चतुर पूर्वान्ब्राह्मणस्योपधारय ।
षडानुपूर्व्या क्षत्रस्य विद्धि धर्म्याननिन्दिते ॥
राज्ञा तु राक्षसोऽप्युक्तो विट्शूद्रेष्वासुर स्मृत ।
पैशाचमासुरश्चैव न कर्तव्यौ कदाचन ॥
गान्धर्वराक्षसौ क्षत्रे धर्म्यौ तौ मा विशङ्किथा ।
गान्धर्वेण विवाहेन भार्या भवितुमर्हसि ॥ Ādi Parva 94 16-20

and the rākṣasa form only secondarily On this plea Duṣyanta persuaded Śakuntalā to marry him Convinced that it was allowed by the scriptures Śakuntalā agreed on condition that the son that should be born of her should become heir apparent The gāndharva form was generally the voluntary union of a Kṣatriya with a woman of his own caste, with or without the consent of their parents But, according to a verse in the *Anuśāsana Parva,* the gāndharva form is defined thus 'The father of the girl conferred his daughter on a certain person whom she liked and who in his turn reciprocated her love, whether he liked it or not '[28] The āsura form is to get a girl by paying a heavy price to her kinsmen, while the forcible removal of a girl by overpowering or slaying her kinsmen is said to be the rākṣasa form

One thing must be mentioned The warrior's code prescribes that the Kṣatriya could take two wives But in practice we find that the royal harem contained a number of women Even here we have to distinguish between the ordinary Kṣatriya and the king Apparently the sanction to take two wives was intended for Kṣatriyas in general It may be noted in passing that the king occupied a status superior to the ordinary warrior and enjoyed certain privileges Of the two wives one was necessarily of his own caste If he chose, he could take a wife from the next caste, the Vaiśya In that case, the Kṣatriya wife was considered socially

28 आत्माभिप्रेतमुत्सृज्य कन्याभिप्रेत एव य ।
अभिप्रेता च या यस्य तस्मै देया युधिष्ठिर ॥
गान्धर्वमिति त धर्मं प्राहुर्वेदविदो जना ॥ 79 5

superior to the other[29] To whatever caste she belonged, it was the injunction of the scriptures that ‘the husband should regard his wife as an acquisition due to his own pristine karma or to what has been ordained by God’[30] This injunction falsifies the statement often made now-a-days that in ancient India women always held an inferior position in the social scale The ancient Indian easily realized that his wife was his partner in weal or woe, and honoured her as the very queen of his home Does not Manu say “Where women are not honoured, there cannot be a proper home”?[31]

Marriages, then, among the warrior caste, as among the other castes, were occasions of great rejoicing, accompanied by festive processions, music and dancing Marriages in royal families were generally occasions of public rejoicing At the *svayamvara marriage,* all the chiefs of the land were invited and in the specially decorated hall they were seated in order As the bride passed in front of the princes assembled, with a white garland of flowers, her lady-in-waiting would state briefly to her the name of each prince and his achievements The prince whom she garlanded became her husband-elect The marriage was at once celebrated in which all the rejected suitors were invited to participate, the princes did not think it in any way improper to mingle in the general festivities[32] Classical instances of a *svayamvara* are furnished by the marriage of Nala and Damayantī, and

29 *Ibid*, 11 and 12

30 Dutt’s translation, *ibid*, 29

31 III 55-60

32 On *svayamvara* see N K Sidhanta *Heroic Age in India* pp 151-152 (Kegan Paul, London 1929)

that of Rāma and Sītā. A study of the epics and the Purāṇas shows that polygamy was the rule, and polyandry an exception, if not altogether unknown. We have only one instance of the polyandry system, and that in the case of the five Pāndava brothers having one wife Draupadī, daughter of king Drupada. But what is held virtuous and praiseworthy is the *ekapatnīvrata*, or the law of having only one consort. Dāśarathi Rāma is a typical instance of the *ekapatnīvrata*[33]. His fidelity to and love for Sītā, the incarnation of chastity, is undoubted, but when he heard that public opinion was not in favour of his taking back his devoted wife, he sent her away to the forest and separated from her.

The next point for consideration is the question of succession, and the operation of the law of primogeniture. It is a general rule that kings were chosen from among the Ksatriya caste. In other words, a non-Ksatriya was not qualified to be a king. And this is probably due to the fact that the Ksatriya caste was considered superior to others in virtue of its material prowess. For on this alone depended the maintenance of law and order without which there would be neither welfare for the people nor progress in the State, the yogaksema and lokayātra of Indian political literature. We are told of the incalculable evils resulting from the rule of kings chosen from other than the warrior caste. The *Vāyu Purāna*[34] sets forth the dark period when slave kings ruled before Candragupta Maurya, and history again records the equally dark period under the Brahman regime, like the age of the Śungas, the Kanvas,

33 *Rāmāyana*, III, 2. 19.

34 II. 37. 321 ff.

and the Āndhras Ancient India again disapproved of rule by a woman or a child or by men of no character like gamblers [35] It is said that such a kingdom sinks like a stone boat in a river So insistence is made on a righteous Ksatriya being elected king

Generally the eldest son succeeded to the throne His election or elevation depended on two things—recommendation by the reigning king as a well-behaved and loyal prince, and ratification by the people Yayāti offered his throne to his youngest son, because he alone fulfilled his wishes, while others did not pay heed to them [36] If the Crown Prince was a minor, the Dowager Queen or a respectable elderly relative governed in his name A similar rule was applicable during an interregnum For instance, in the *Rāmāyana* the Purohita Vasistha took up the reins of administration on Daśaratha's death until Bharata arrived from his uncle's kingdom [37] An unworthy prince was often punished and sometimes banished out of the kingdom Asamanja is an instance in point It may be that in certain cases the king had no issue to continue his line, and in such cases recourse was had to the practice of what is termed *niyoga*

The son was begotten on one's wife by appointment The practice was for the reigning king to appoint a person, preferably a sage, to have sexual intercourse with his wife and bring forth a son to succeed him In such cases the sage imposed certain conditions, and in practice the queen often discountenanced such

35 *Mhb*, *Udyoga* Parva, 38 43

36 *Mhb*, Ādi Parva, 79 18 43

37 *Rāmāyana*, Ayodhyā, chh 68 69

a union But still she yielded lest the line should be completely extinguished Legend says that Bali, the Vairocana, had no children, and appointed the sage Dīrghatamas, by whom his queen gave birth to five sons—Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Paundia and Simha The story goes that at first she refused and sent in her place her slave girl to whom was born Kaksīvān [38] In the *Mahābhārata* again Dhritarāstra being blind was debarred from sitting on the throne So his brother Pāndu succeeded him and Pāndu became in course of time sickly, and therefore recourse was had to *niyoga* to beget sons on Pāndu's queen Though the practice of *niyoga* had neither the willing approval of the law-givers nor of the parties to it, all the same it was resorted to And Manu assigns a low status to a *niyoga* son, nicknamed a ksetraja [39]

Details as regards the coronation, and the daily duties of the king, his mode of life, the harem, etc, need not detain us here But our survey would not be complete if we do not say a word about the method of the disposal of kings and soldiers slain in battle After the battle was over, and when news reached that their kinsmen had fallen dead fighting heroically in the field, the relatives including women went forth to the battlefield to bewail their loss If it was a royal death, the royal household went to the scene of action accompanied by the merchants, artisans, agriculturists, and the common folk to pay their last respects to the departed hero Songs of praise were sung recounting his heroic exploits [40] Then followed the cremation

38 *Br Purāna,* III ch 74

39 IX 65

40 *Mhb*, Strīparva chh 9 10, chh 16-24

As hundreds of soldiers were dead on the field, it was the custom to heap up the dead bodies on pyres, according to rank, and to get them cremated[41] It was then also a custom for the chaste wives of these fallen heroes to mount the funeral pyres of their husbands and get burned along with them[42] Only such wives were regarded as satis But this was not always the case In the *Rāmāyana* we see that widows survived their husbands and led wretched and miserable lives[43] and from this Lassen concludes that there was no widow-burning in the *Rāmāyana*[44] The legal code allows both practices, thus respecting the customs and usages of different peoples

Though the warrior's code enjoins that all the Ksatriyas should die on the field of battle,[45] still in practice many died a peaceful death After a long and glorious rule the king often nominated his successor, invariably his eldest son, and retired with his family to the forest to lead a life of penance and prayer and attain Nirvāna, or heavenly bliss It is a moot question whether the Ksatriya could legally renounce the world and take to the fourth āśrama, the ascetic order or sannyāsa.[46] There is a definite ordinance of the ancient law books prohibiting the warrior caste from taking to

41 *Ibid*, 26 24-44

42 *Mhb*, Śānti, ch 147

43 The queens of Daśaratha and Tārā the queen of Vālī are instances in point

44 *Ind Alt* I 592

45 See in this connexion *Puranānūru*, 15

46 There is an interesting dialogue in the *Mahābhārata* between Janaka and his indignant queen on this subject when he renounced the world

asceticism. Only the Brahman may resort to asceticism, because the Ksatriya may neither beg nor receive a gift. The very nature of a sannyāsin is to beg, hence he is called a bhiksu. Action and not renunciation is the watch-word of the Ksatriya.[47] It was realised that if this were allowed, the Ksatriyas would become philosophers rather than warriors and this would result in the deterioration of man-power in the land. Therefore, a warrior was not generally allowed to don the robes of an ascetic. But Mahāvīra and Gautama protested against these injunctions and inaugurated an order of monks or sannyāsins. When these dissenting sects gathered in strength and numbers, the decline of Ksatriya valour set in. Once they were initiated into a life of peace and prayer, they preferred it to the horrors of war. This was a disservice that dissenting sects did to the cause of ancient India.

The Ksatriya could take to the third stage of life the vānaprasta āśrama, which was the life of a hermit. But still the rule was definite, that peaceful death at home was a sin.[48] It was a disgrace for a hero to die in the field with wounds received on his back. The heroic mother of the Tamil land was in the habit of running to the field of action with a vow to cut off her breasts that gave milk to him if her son had died of a wound in the back. If, on the other hand, he had fallen dead with a wound at the chest, the mother felt relieved, even

47 Āhurāśramināh sarve na bhaiksam ksatriyaścaret—(*Mhb.*, Udyoga Parva 72-3)

48 *Mhb.*, *Śānti*, 97.21-30. The following statement may be specially noted.

न गृहे मरणं तात क्षत्रियाणां प्रशस्यते ॥

though she should have lost her only son[49] When kings received wounds on their backs they sought a voluntary death We hear that the Cēra king, Ātan II, when wounded thus by Karikāl Cōla, sought a voluntary death[50] The idea of death at the theatre of war was such a ruling passion with the Tamils that if a warrior met with a natural death it was the custom to make the dying man lie on a bed of kuśa grass and have him cut with a sword, the purohita chanting special mantras The belief was that by this the hero reached heaven like the soldier fallen in battle[50a] In short, war was deemed to be a yajña or sacrifice, and this idea of the dramatist Bhāsa is found in Kautalya[51]

The warrior's code enjoined that, once challenged, the Ksatriya must respond[52] If he did not, he was not doing his duty It is said that having heard that he had been challenged to fight, a Ksatriya laid down his crown and braided up his hair, an outward sign of hasty preparation for the fight[53] He thus extricated himself from disgrace and from the sin arising out of the non-observance of duty For the king must always be in a state of preparedness for war It made no difference

49 *Śen Tamil,* Vol v For it is un-Aryan to mourn for the heroic dead The rule forbids the lamentation for those slain in battle except in a formal way *Mhb*, XI 2 19 20

50 *Puram,* 65 and 66 It may be said most of these rules are borrowed from or inspired by the Brahmanical tradition

50a *Puram,* 74 and 93 *Manimēkalai* XXIII ll 13-16

51 Bhāsa's *Pratijñāyaugandharāyana*—Act IV, *Ar Śās* Bk X, 3 See also Dikshitar—*Bhāsa* and *Kautalya* in P V Kane Commemoration Volume (1941)

52 For a similar idea see Strachey's Introduction to the Globe edition of Malory's *Mort d' Arthur, on Chivalry* and the introduction to the Globe edition of Froissart

53 *Mhb*, Sabhā Parva, 24 8

whether one expected to win or to be killed in the battle For it was the eternal law proclaimed by the Creator [54]

Whether an elder, a kinsman, a preceptor, or a Brahman, he must be attacked if he would attack him [55] This was the point raised by Arjuna and answered by Krsna as the veritable law of warfare, though it militated against the sādhārana dharma inculcated by the law codes The idea was that once a Brahman or a kinsman assumed the role of a warrior and a foe, there was no sin in killing him [56]

Viewing the life of a warrior as a whole, it seems that in the pre-Epic period he shared a part of the spoils of war with the king and received no fixed wages But in the epic period a warrior in service received fixed emoluments In war he fought, and in peace he spent his days in amusement He was not drafted to civil work [57] In case a warrior died, the State provided for his family [58]

54 *Mhb*, Udyoga Parva, 72 4

जयो वधो वा सग्रामे धात्राऽऽदिष्ट सनातन ।
स्वधर्म क्षत्रियस्यैष कार्पण्य न प्रशस्यते ॥

55 Cp Av Bk 1 19 3 where Rudra is invoked to destroy the enemy 'Whether one of our own or whether a stranger, fellow or outsider, who so assails us,—let Rudra with a volley pierce those my enemies'

56 *Mhb*, Udyoga Parva, 178 51

उद्यतेषुमथो दृष्ट्वा ब्राह्मण क्षत्रबन्धुवत् ।
यो हन्यात्समरे क्रुद्ध युध्यन्तमपलायिनम् ।
ब्रह्महत्या न तस्य स्यादिति धर्मेषु निश्चय ॥

57 *Ibid*, Sabhā Parva, 5 52-3

58 *Ibid*, Śānti, 86 24 5

SECTION II

THE ETHICS OF WAR

"To fight to the death for these great possessions (defence of family's honour and of country's welfare), to feel that it is honour to die for them and dishonour to retreat from them, to give up everything material for them, to war for them to the last man, is just, true and righteous war, and there is not a thought or a passion connected with it which does not exalt and ennoble, not only the persons and the nation which wage it but the whole body also of humanity to whom the great tradition of this defence is handed down, and whom the memory of it inspires, teaches and ennobles "[59]

The Hindu science of warfare values both *nīti* and *śaurya*, *i e* ethical principles and valour The term *nītiśāstra*, which was the title given to books on ancient Indian polity, shows that though the subjects treated in them were secular, still they had their basis in religion In fact religion governed the actual life of every person from birth to death It was therefore realised that the waging of war without regard to moral standards degraded the institution into mere animal ferocity[60] Hence there came into being the ethical code and the code of the lawgivers, the authors of the *Dharmasūtras* and the *Dharmaśāstras* A monarch desirous of *dharmavijaya* should conform to the code of ethics enjoined upon warriors

59 See Stopford A Brooke *A Discourse on War*, (*The Hibbert Journal*, 1915-16, p 674)

60 *Raghuvamśa*, 17, 47 and 68, See Mallinātha's Commentary

Hindu military science recognizes two kinds of warfare—the dharmayuddha and the kūtayuddha There is another classification into prakāśayuddha and mantra-yuddha Dharmayuddha is war carried on the principles of *dharma,* meaning here the Ksatriadharma or the law of Kings and Warriors In other words, it was a just and righteous war which had the approval of society It was also termed prakāśayuddha, or open battle There was to be no secrecy about it The preliminaries of the battle were settled by the belligerents before the war actually began. There was no application of stratagem or artifice in the operations of this war It was then a straight fight and a regulated fight On the other hand, the kūtayuddha was unrighteous war It was a crafty fight carried on in secret It was sometimes effected by the use of *mantras* and of charms and spells Sometimes it went by the name of mantra-yuddha, permissible only for purposes of defence, and that too only as a last resort More of this later on

Going back to the hoary past, to the period of the *Rg Veda Samhitā,* there is no reason to suppose that the Samhitā or post-Śamhitā literature of the Veda contemplated any clear distinction between dharma-yuddha and kūtayuddha No doubt wars were fought, and there is evidence of the use, sometimes, of fraud in such battles[61] There was nothing like a definite formulation of the rules of conduct It was only in the post-Vedic epoch that a code came into being, thanks to the foresight of our ancient sages Here and there we meet with a stray regulation especially in the

61 *Rg Veda,* I, 117 16, VII, 18 11

literature which goes by the name of the Brāhmanas For example, the Kausītaki Brāhmana says 'Kin or no kin, crush the foes conquer the attacking, conquer by attacking '[62] Surely there was some unwritten code or convention followed by the members of society, though the written code was still a thing of the future

But a critical study of the Vedic literature as a whole leaves on one the impression that the Asuras were advanced in the art of war, that they lived in well-fortified castles, and that they sometimes resorted to unscrupulous and unclean methods to overcome the enemy They were past masters in the use of spells and charms, *mantra* and *tantra* If we read the accounts of the different devāsura wars narrated in the Vedic works and amplified in the later Purānic literature, we may surmise, not without reason, that the origin of the kūta yuddha, later on accepted by the Hindu law-givers as one of the permitted kinds of warfare, lay in the ancient and primitive institutions of the Asuras which the Devas began slowly to copy and follow However this may be we meet with these two kinds of war in the early *Dharmasūtras* and in the epics Already a code had been drawn up without much violation of the politics and conventions current at that time And punishment was inflicted on the warrior who did not act up to the regulations laid down The code of course synchronized with the formation of a separate military caste Though it was enjoined on the military leaders and warriors to conform to the laws of war, still they were taught the different modes of fighting, including those of the

62 XX 8 6 Keith's trn

kūṭayuddha,[63] and were expected to be well versed in all of them The idea was to pay one in his own coin If the enemy resorted to unrighteous and intriguing methods of war, the attacked could also resort to similar methods and strike the enemy down

The principles regulating the two kinds of warfare are elaborately described in the *Dharmasūtras* and *Dharmaśāstras,* the epics, and the Arthaśāstra treatises of Kautalya, Kāmandaka, and Śukra

Let us now turn our attention to the laws governing righteous warfare When a conqueror felt that he was in a position to invade the foreigner's country, he sent an ambassador with the message 'Fight or submit'[64] More than 5000 years ago India recognized that the person of the ambassador was inviolable This was a great service that ancient Hinduism rendered to the cause of international law It was the religious force that invested the person of the herald or ambassador with an inviolable sanctity in the ancient world, we find this principle operative at the dawn of Greek society[65] Plato asserts that an injury done to the ambassador amounted to sacrilege against Zeus and Hermes The same principle dominated the religious law of early Rome Herodotus narrates the divine punishment that fell on Sparta in the fifth century B C for slaying the

63 This is called adharma vijaya by the epic The vijaya earned by adharma leads to hell Śānti 96 12

अधर्मविजय लब्ध्वा को नु मन्येत भूमिप ।

अधर्मयुक्तो विजयो ह्यध्रुवोऽस्वर्ग्य एव च ॥

64 For details see the section on Ambassadors

65 Plato, *Laws,* 941

Persian herald[66] 'Thus it was that religion was able to win recognition for one of the most enduring ideas of international ethics'[67] The *Mahābhārata* rules that the king who killed an envoy would sink into hell with all his ministers[68]

Notwithstanding the love of glory and the spirit of heroism which actuated the warrior, recourse was had to war only if the instruments of diplomacy failed to effect the desired end Generally the policies of *sāma* and *dāna* were used against inferior powers, and that of *bheda* and *danda* towards superiors and equals[69] But this was by no means a rigid rule[70] These different expedients were severally and jointly employed so as to bring about a compromise and avoid or at least postpone the outbreak of war Genuine attempts were made to avoid armed contests and to keep peaceful relations As we have seen already, aggression was the exception and defence was the rule If diplomacy failed to bring about compromise, and if war was provoked, surely there was retaliation Vigorous preparations were made to vanquish the enemy by attacking the vulnerable points in his line It was considered no sin to strike the enemy at his weak points[71] We have the unimpeachable authority of the celebrated Buddhist writer of the early second century A D , Āryadeva, to this effect In the *Catuh*

66 7 134

67 See L R Farnell *The Higher Aspects of Greek Religion* (London 1926), pp 100 101

68 Śānti, 85 26

69 *Manu,* 7 198, Śānti, 94 (whole), *Śukra,* IV 1 25 37, *Ar Sas* VII 16

70 See chapter on *Diplomacy and Diplomatic Agents*

71 *Kāmandaka,* 20 57

satika, a portion of which was edited by the late lamented Mm Haraprasad Śāstri, the following stanza occurs

छिद्रप्रहारिण पाप यदि राज्ञो न विद्यते ।
अन्येषामपि चौराणा तत् प्रागेव न विद्यते ॥

Ch IV 91

(See Memoirs of *A S B*, Vol III, No 8)

What does this indicate? Taking advantage of the weak spots in the enemy's army and directing attack on them had the approval even of the Buddhist's ethical code

War meant victory or defeat The warrior would either come out victorious or be slain in the contest No one would prefer the latter To earn a victory was the ruling passion It was believed that it could not be effected by mere physical strength or assertion of might But if the human endeavour was backed by divine power (*daiva balam*), then it was thought that success would attend on him Hence throughout the week preceding the march the king should spend his time, in prayers to God On the first day he should worship Hari, Śambhu and Vināyaka, on the second the Loka pālas, on the third the other deities, on the fourth the planets, on the fifth the Aśvins, the presiding deities of the rivers, mountains, trees and other objects, and on the last two days Narasimha and also war animals and weapons [72]

This compares favourably with the Tamil practice When Śenguttuvan resolved to march against the northern kings, the astrologer announced the auspicious time, when the king caused the sword and the umbrella

72 *Agni Purāna*, Ch 236, Cf *Śivatattvaratnākara*, 5 14, 8 24 This continued to be in vogue to the end of the Vijayanagar period

to be taken outside the city ramparts as *prasthāna* Then he went to the shrine of Śiva and took the prasādam on his head after due prayers That which came from the Visnu temple he wore on his shoulders After entertaining the whole army to a sumptuous dinner and with words of encouragement to the soldiers, the king commenced his march towards the Ganges [73]

At the completion of the week preceding the outbreak of war, the king, the minister, and the Purohita addressed words of encouragement to the warriors drawn in several arrays This practice is known also to Bhāsa who mentions it in his *Pratijñāyaugandharāyana* [74] The war is here compared to a yajña or Vedic sacrifice, and he who fights to the end enjoys the same benefits as would accrue from the performance of a Vedic yajña In the Udyoga Parva of the *Mahābhārata,* mention is made of a śastra yajña or the sacrifice of arms where Krsna officiated as Ādhvaryu, Yudhisthira as Brahmā, the blood of warriors and their powers as the clarified butter, the pupils of Drona and Krpa as the Sadasyas, the son of Dhrtarāstra as the Yajamāna, and the avabhrta bath of the sacrifice was the lamentation over the killing of Duryodhana by the mighty Bhīmasena [75] This affords strong proof of the fact that the concept of sacrifice was carried to excess War itself was personified as yajña It was then deemed that both war and Vedic sacrifice resulted in the same effect, *viz,* the attainment of heaven [76] It was Vīrasvarga to the

73 *Śila* Canto XXVI

74 See p 56 above, *Mhb* Śānti 100, 32 41, Cp Banerji's *Public Administration in Ancient India,* also *Ar Śās* X 3

75 Ch 141 29-51

76 Śānti, 98, 39 to the end

warriors slain in war Killing in war and being killed in war were not acts of unrighteousness Death otherwise was not commendable [77]

The warrior's code ruled that on the day before the battle the king should sleep in his chariot with his weapons by his side Astrologers and soothsayers observed the various omens and predicted the good or bad results foretold by them [78] The king was asked to begin his march at an auspicious hour, after satisfying himself with regard to the strength of the forces and the attendant circumstances If the omens brought with them good signs, the kings were to give certain peace offerings (*śānti*), for, according to the belief of the time, these propitious rites were likened to an armour shielding the warrior from a volley of arrows [79]

Varāhamihira's *Yogayātra*[80] asks a king on the eve of a march to war to recite the *apratiratha* hymn that occurs in the *Atharvaveda,* for success in war [81] The hymn runs as follows

77 *Ibid*, 97 25, 28 and 32

78 *Ar Śās* X, 113 In this connexion some customs prevalent among the primitive tribes are interesting Among the Indian tribes of North America, the men on the war path had always to sleep at night with their faces turned towards their own country They might not sit upon the bare ground, nor wet their feet nor walk on a beaten path With regard to the Creek Indians we are told that the warriors 'religiously abstain from every kind of intercourse even with their own wives for the space of three days and nights before they go to war, and so after they return home, because they are to sanctify themselves' Among the Basutos 'ablution is specially performed on return from battle' Frazer The Golden Bough (abridged) 1923, pp 210-4

79 *Matsya Purāna,* Ch 288

80 8 6

81 Bk XIX 13

(1) Indra's two arms (are stout), virile (vrsan) these two wondrous successful bulls, them will I first yoke when the conjecture (yoga) arrives—they by which was conquered the heaven (svar) that is the Asuras

(2) Swift, sharp, terrible like a bull, greatly smiting, disturber of men, roaring, unwinking, sole hero, Indra conquered a hundred armies together

(3) With the roaring unwinking, conquering, invincible, immovable, bold one—with Indra thus conquer, thus over-power the fighters, O men, with the arrow-armed bull (vrsan)

(4) He with the arrow-armed, he with the quiver-hung (is) controller, he, Indra with his train, brings together the fighters—(he) conquering those brought together, soma-drinker, defiant with his arms, of formidable bow, shooting with fitted (arrows)

(5) To be known by his strength, stout, foremost hero, powerful, vigorous (vajin) overpowering, formidable, excelling heroes, excelling warriors, conquering with power-mount, O Indra, the victorious kine-winning chariot

(6) Be ye excited after this formidable hero, take hold, O companions, after Indra, the troop-conqueror, kine-conqueror, thunderbolt-armed, conquering in the race, slaughtering with force

(7) Plunging with power into the cow-stalls, Indra, pitiless, formidable, of hundred-fold fury, immovable, over-powering fighters, invincible—let him favour our armies in the fights

(8) O Brhaspati, fly about with the chariot, demon slaying, forcing away our enemies, breaking up our foes, slaughtering our enemies, be thou the helper of ourselves

(9) Indra (be) their leader let Brhaspati the sacrificial gift, the sacrifice, soma, go in front, in the

midst of the smashing conquering armies of the gods let the Maruts go

(10) Of Indra the bull (Vrsan), of King Varuna, of the Ādityas, of the Maruts, the spirit (sārdhas) (is) formidable, the noise of the great minded, creation-stirring, conquering gods hath arisen

(11) Indra (is) ours when the banners meet (in conflict), let the arrows that are ours conquer, let our heroes be superior, us, O Gods, aid ye, at the invocations

After this it was the custom of the Purohita to arm the king with a breastplate in the course of which he recited the hymns found in the *Atharvaveda* (Bk XIX, 20) invoking protection to him by the various gods

The following are some of the rules which were observed on the battlefield In this there is no difference between the epic code and the law-code [82]

1 A warrior in armour must not fight with a Ksatriya who is not clad in a coat of mail

नासन्नद्धो नाकवचो योद्धव्य क्षत्रियो रणे । Śānti, 95 7

2 One should fight only one enemy, and cease fighting when the opponent became disabled

एक एकेन भाव्यश्च विसृजेति क्षिपामि च । *Ibid*

3 If the enemy is clad in mail, his opponent should put on armour

स चेत्सन्नद्ध आगच्छेत्सन्नद्धव्य ततो भवेत ।
स चेत्ससैन्य आगच्छेत्ससैन्यस्तमथाह्वयेत् ॥

Ch IV 91 Śānti, 96 3

स चेन्निकृत्या युध्येत निकृत्या प्रतियोधयेत् ।
अथ चेद्धर्मतो युध्येद्धर्मेणैव निवारयेत् ॥ *Ibid*, 8-9

82 Śānti, 95 7-13—Dutt's trn

4 A cavalry soldier should not attack a chariot-warrior But a chariot warrior could attack a chariot-warrior Similarly a horse-warrior could resist another horse-warrior The general rule is that warriors should fight only with their equals

नाश्वेन रथिन यायादुदियाद्रथिन रथी ।
व्यसने न प्रहर्तव्य न भीताय जितायच ॥ *Ibid*, 10

5 Poisoned or barbed arrows should not be used [83]

नेषुर्लिप्तो न कर्णी स्यादसतामेतदायुधम् ।
यथार्थमेव योद्धव्य न क्रुध्येत जिघासत ॥ *Ibid*, 11-13

6 A weak or wounded man should not be killed, nor one who has no son

7 He whose weapon is broken, or whose bow-string is cut, or who has lost his car should not be hit

8 A warrior who requests to be rescued saying 'I am thine' or joins his hands in supplication, or throws off his weapon, must not be killed But he can be captured as a prisoner of war [84]

विशीर्णकवच चैव तवास्मीति च वादिनम्
कृताञ्जलि न्यस्तशस्त्र गृहीत्वा न विहिंसयेत्

9 A king should fight only with a king and not with warriors of inferior status

राज्ञा राजैव योद्धव्य तथा धर्मो विधीयते ।
नान्यो राजानमभ्यस्येदराजन्य कथचन ॥ Śānti, 96 7

83 Cp *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, I 70 10

न कर्णिभि न दिग्धै प्रहरेत् ।

84 Śānti 96 3

10 If a Brahman enters the field to bring about peace between the contesting parties, both should stop fighting And no injury should be inflicted on such a Brahman

अनीकयो सहतयोर्यदीयाद्ब्राह्मणोऽन्तरा ।
शान्तिमिच्छन्नुभयतो न योद्धव्य तदा भवेत् ॥ *Ibid*, 8

11 He is a wretch who retreats stricken with fear from the field of battle[85]

12 One should never lament over a hero killed in battle, for he becomes the lord of thousands of nymphs[86]

आहवे तु हत शूरं न शोचेत कथचन ।
अशोच्यो हि हत शूर स्वर्गलोके महीयते ॥
वराप्सर सहस्राणि शूरमायोधने हतम् ।
त्वरमाणानि धावन्ति मम भर्ता भवेदिति ॥ *Ibid*, 98 70-72

13 Aged men, women, children, the retreating, or one who holds a straw in his lips as a sign of unconditional surrender,[87] should not be killed.

वृद्धबालौ न हन्तव्यौ न च स्त्री नैव पृष्ठत ।
तृणपूर्णमुखश्चैव तवास्मीति च यो वदेत् ॥

Ibid, 74 *Baudhā*, 1 10 18

14 The panic-stricken and scattered foe should not be pursued hotly[88]

न हि प्रहर्तुमिच्छन्ति शूरा प्रद्रवतो भयात् ।
तस्मात्पलायमानाना कुर्यान्नात्यनुसारणम् ॥ *Ibid*, 99 14

85 Ch 97 19-20
86 *Ibid*, 98 70-72
87 *Ibid*, 74
88 *Ibid*, 99 13-14

15 No one should kill the sleepy or the thirsty, or the fatigued, or one whose armour had slipped, a peaceful citizen walking along the road, one engaged in eating or drinking, the mad and the insane, one who went out of the camp to buy provisions, a camp-follower, menials and the guards at the gates[89]

16 In case of an insufficient supply of numbers in a particular division or divisions of the army, substitutes may be used An elephant may be opposed by five horses, or fifteen men and four horses, one horse-man may be opposed by three footmen, and three horsemen by one elephant rider [90]

17 It is forbidden to kill a Brahman by caste or by profession, or one who declares himself a Brahman, or a cow, or an outcaste [91]

18 He should not be killed who gets up on an eminence or a tree, who is a eunuch or a war-musician [92] The *Śilappadikāram* refers to warriors escaping from the field of battle in disguise as ascetics, Brahmans, musicians, and, last but not least, hermaphrodites Most of them were allowed to run away, though some were captured and sent to far-off lands When these captives

89 *Ibid*, 100 27-9, *Manu*, VII 92

90 *Agni Purāna*, 242, 38

91 प्रसुप्तांस्तृषितांश्श्रान्तान्प्रकीर्णान्नाभिघातयेत् ।
मोक्षे प्रयाणे चलने पानभोजनकालयोः ॥
न दोषो हिंसायामाहवेऽन्यत्राश्वसारथ्यायुधकृताञ्जलि-
प्रकीर्णकेशपराङ्मुखोपविष्टस्थलवृक्षारूढदूतगोब्राह्मणवादिभ्य

Gautama, X

92 *Manu*, VII 90 93, *Gautama*, X 18 20 *Yāj*, I, 327-28 *Āpastamba*, II, 5 10, *Sūratattvaratnākara*, 5 14 16, *Śukra*, 4-7-355 65, *Śārangadhara* 1935 f, *Bārhaspatya* III 51

were presented before the Pāndya and Cola monarchs the latter spoke disparagingly of Śenguttuvan as having transgressed the limits of fair fighting (CH XXVI)

19 It is further prohibited to fight those who do not offer to fight, who hide themselves in fear, or who go to the field as spectators[93] The great war at Kuruksetra affords ample proof that spectators were admitted into the battle-field during the scene of action, and they were not injured or otherwise harmed

20 Another feature of the dharmayuddha was to leave the fruit and flower gardens, temples, and other places of public worship unmolested[94] Clausewitz characterises such a direction of war as the necessary consequences of the spirit of progress[95] We have the testimony of a foreign ambassador to this country in the fourth century B C Megasthenes says 'Whereas among other nations it is usual in the contests of war to ravage the soil and thus reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians, on the contrary, by whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger, for the combatants on either side in waging the conflict make carnage of each other, but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested

93 *Rāmāyana*, Yuddha, 80 39,

नैकस्य हेतो रक्षांसि पृथिव्या हन्तुमर्हसि ॥

अयुध्यमान प्रच्छन्न प्राञ्जलि शरणागतम् ।

पलायन्त प्रमत्त वा न त्व हन्तुमिहार्हसि ॥

94 *Agni Purāna* 236 22 See also the testimony of Megasthenes

95 Op Cit Vol III, pp 98-9

Besides they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire, nor cut down its trees' Nor would an enemy coming upon a husbandman at work on land do him harm, for men of this class, being regarded as public benefactors, are protected from all injury[96]

We must specially emphasize this social aspect of war In modern war the normal course of individual and commercial life is greatly disturbed Trade is hampered and prices rise enormously In a word, non-combatants are as much affected as combatants This stands in contrast with the theory and practice of war in ancient India The normal life of the people was never disturbed and arts and crafts continued to flourish irrespective of war or peace

21 Prisoners of war were generally to be accorded generous treatment In the epoch of the Brāhmanas the fettered prisoner was sent out of the kingdom and was permitted to remain on the outskirts Sometimes the captive agreed to become a slave of the captor for a period of one year after which he became a free man[97] If maidens were among the prisoners of war, they were courteously treated and were induced to marry persons of the conqueror's choice If they declined the offer, they were sent back to their homes under proper escort[98] Hospitality, the sacredness of the refugee, the law not to

96 *Ar Śās*, XIII 4, McCrindle, Frg I

97 *Śat Br*, I 24 16-17 (SBE, XXII), Śānti, 96 4-5

बलेन विजितो यश्च न त युध्येत भूमिपः ।

सवत्सरं विप्रणयेत्तस्माज्जात. पुनर्भवेत् ॥

98 Śānti 96 5 We are told in the later Vijayanagar period that Krsnadeva returned the wife of the defeated Gajapati ruler (Sewell *A Forgotten Empire*, p 320)

forget a kindness or a hurt, and not to refuse to fight when challenged, are some features of fair fighting according to the epic code[99] According to the *Mudrā-rākṣasa,* Kautalya-Cānakya set free prisoners captured in war by Candragupta Kanaka and Vijaya, the northern kings who were taken captives in the Ganges expedition, were liberated by Śenguttuvan after some time and sent back to their capitals[100]

Usually the defeated king was reinstated on the throne But if the enemy king had met with his death in battle, his son or nearest relative was installed on the throne on terms of subordinate alliance[101] The subjects of the vanquished monarch were allowed to retain their own laws and customs,[102] for it was well realised that any violation of these would result in a mass rebellion which it would be impossible to quell The chief leaders of the people were, it is said, to be conciliated with soothing words and alluring presents[103] It was the policy of the ancient Hindus that once in the field of action, the enemy could be subjected to rigour But after the cessation of hostilities, the victor should behave in such a way as to secure the advancement of all, including the subjects of the enemy's kingdom[104]

Some of these rules are borne out by the inscriptions Different cases of dealing with the conquered kings are mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription

99 See *Indian Historical Quarterly,* Vol I, p 270

100 *Śila*, Canto XXX

101 *Ar Śās*, VII, ch 16, *Manu,* VII, 202 ff

102 *Ibid*, XIII ch 5

103 Śānti, 96 12-13

104 *Ibid* 97 4-5

of Samudragupta It is said that the Dakṣiṇāpatha rulers who were captured in his wars, were set free and the Āṭavika kings were admitted to the service of the conqueror The sāmanta chieftains, on the other hand, expressed their willingness to accept the emperor's overlordship by agreeing to pay him tribute[105] It is thus seen that as far as possible the internal system of administration and the various social institutions of the subjugated lands were left undisturbed The conqueror, in most cases, was satisfied with the acknowledgment of his overlordship and did not trouble himself so long as his sovereignty was not challenged[106]

22 Next the treatment of the wounded may engage our attention A wounded opponent should either be sent to his own home, or if taken to the victor's quarters, he should have his wounds attended to by skilled surgeons After he got well cured, he should be set at liberty.[107] Women were appointed to nurse the wounded In the camp were found physicians with surgical instruments, machines, remedial oils, and bandage-cloth in their hands Evidently they dressed the wounds and applied healing remedies After beating the enemy in battle and finding them suffering from the agony of wounds, the victor should show mercy to them and sympathise with them by comforting them, taking hold of their hands affectionately It is said that he should

105 *Gupta Inscriptions*, No I, Pl 1, l 19

106 *Viṣṇu*, III, 30-31, Jayaswal *A History of India A D 150—A D 350* (re the nature of Samudragupta's conquests)

107 Śānti, 95 17-18

चिकित्स्यः स्यात्स्वविषये प्राप्यो वा स्वगृहे भवेत् ।

निर्व्रणश्च स मोक्तव्यः एष धर्मः सनातनः ॥

even shed tears before them so as to secure their devotion[108] This was true of the soldiers of his own army as well as of the enemy[109]

That the ancient Tamil kings were imbued with such lofty ideals and were solicitous for the wounded and the disabled is sufficiently manifest The great Śangam poet, Nakkīrar, describes how king Neduñjeliyan II behaved towards the wounded soldiers in his camp At mid-night, despite the inclement weather and drenching rain, the king left his camp followed by a few attendants holding lighted torches and visited these suffering men and made kind and sympathetic enquiries of each soldier Usually a general went in advance pointing out to the king the heroic men wounded in the previous day's battle[110]

Incidentally, it may be noticed from the above description that it was a custom to make war during the day and cease fighting during night This was also the practice in the *Mahābhārata* war and a practice of all righteous wars According to Clausewitz,[111] when the army retired for rest all feelings of asperity and animosity were to be suspended and both the contending parties were to behave like allies

SECTION III

CELEBRATING VICTORY

After the announcement of victory, the conqueror probably recited the following hymn of the *Atharva*

108 Śānti, 102, 34-39

109 *Ibid*, 95, 17, 18

110 *Pattuppāttu*, Nedunalvādai, ll 169 188 See also Dikshitar *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, p 254, *J I H*, Vol XIII, Pt 2—J M Somasundaram has translated this into English

111 Vol I, p 231

Veda which Griffith calls a ‘ hymn after victory ’ —

> ‘ Here I have come up to a better stop heaven-and-earth have been propitious to me let the directions be for me free from rivals we verily hate thee not, be there fearlessness for us ’[112]

Then he celebrated it by worshipping the gods, honouring the Brahmans, and granting a general amnesty[113] The belief then was that God helped those who helped themselves So worship of the gods was the first thing This worship was done in different ways The orthodox method seems to have been to celebrate a sacrifice as we saw in the case of Yudhisthira and Śenguttuvan There was the classical instance of King Nābhāga giving away whole kingdoms as sacrificial presents to the Brahmans[114] Another mode of honouring the Brahman was to make a present of the cows captured from the enemy so that they might enjoy their milk

An interesting question may be raised here What was the service of the Brahman in a war so as to make him the recipient of such gifts? Let the ancient texts answer A certain Gandharva in addressing Arjuna in the *Mahābhārata* on the importance of the Purohita to the king says that sheer prowess and pride of nobility cannot give one success It is the guiding hand of the Brahmans that will keep a king ever victorious[115] In

112 Bk XIX, 14

113 *Manu*, VII 201, *Ar Śās*, XIII 5

114 सराजकानि राष्ट्राणि नाभागो दक्षिणा ददौ ।
अन्यत्र श्रोत्रियस्वाच्च तापसार्थाच्च भारत ॥ Śānti, 96 22

115 *Mhb*, Ādi Parva, 186 and especially the line
ब्राह्मणाप्रमुख राज्य शक्य पालयितु चिरम् ॥

another place we are informed that mere strength of weapons and arms (*astrabāhubalam*) does not secure victory, but the power of tapas and mantras would alone lead to it (*tapomantra balam*)[116] This is exactly what the Kautalīya rules, namely, śastrabalam combined with śāstrabalam leads to the success of the State[117] As the *śāstrabalam*, and *tapomantrabalam* were the possession of the Brahman, and as he was prohibited from earning his livelihood by taking to other professions, there is the justification for bestowing lavish gifts on the Brahmans who ministered to the religious and spiritual needs of the whole community This dependence of each community on the other explains why there were few or no civil wars in ancient India

After the religious celebration the conqueror proceeded to distribute the booty seized in war It included chariots, horses, elephants, umbrellas, grain, cattle, dravyas including the *kupyas* or baser metals, and women Such wealth consisted only of movables The epic code has it that the immovable property did not of right belong to the conqueror[118] It is said that after defeating the enemy in battle, King Pratardana took all his wealth, including grains and medicinal herbs,

116 तपो मन्त्रबलं नित्य ब्राह्मणेषु प्रतिष्ठितम् ।
अस्त्रबाहुबल नित्य क्षत्रियेषु प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥ Śānti, 94 14
नाब्रह्म क्षत्रमृध्नोति नाक्षत्र ब्रह्म वर्धते ।
ब्रह्मक्षत्र च सपृक्तमिह चामुत्र वर्धते ॥

117 *Ar Śās*, Bk I 9

118 भूमिवर्ज धन राजा जित्वा राजन्महाहवे ।
अपि चान्नौषधी शश्वदाजहार प्रतर्दन ॥ Śānti 96 20

but left his land untouched In the next verse we are told that King Divodāsa took away even the sacrificial materials including the clarified butter and food of his subjugated foes But this was not approved as it went against the prevailing religious feeling[119] According to Śukrācārya[120] the wealth seized in war should be presented to the king for examination and distribution This wealth was clearly movable property According to lawgivers like Visnu and Manu, animals captured and a part of the treasure seized, generally went to the king[121] It is interesting to note the ruling of Brhaspati that one-sixth of the booty went to the king and the rest to his allies and soldiers[122] The dependants of those killed in war were given an allowance for subsistence This was probably met from the State treasury

SECTION IV

MISCELLANEOUS REGULATIONS

There are a number of miscellaneous rules given in the epic under the category of just fighting Let us refer to one or two of these That warrior was regarded as Visnu in prowess and Brhaspati in intelligence who killed the commander of the enemy's force and rode upon the chariot of his fallen antagonist[123] The epic speaks

119 *Ibid*, 21

120 IV, 7, 386

121 *Visnu*, III 30, *Manu*, VII 202, *Gautama*, X, 20-23

122 *SBE*, XXXIII, p 341

123 Śānti, 98 42-3 (Poona edn)

यस्तु सेनापतिं हत्वा तद्यानमधिरोहति ।

स विष्णुविक्रमक्रामी बृहस्पतिसम प्रभु ॥

another place we are informed that mere strength of weapons and arms (*astrabāhubalam*) does not secure victory, but the power of tapas and mantras would alone lead to it (*tapomantra balam*)[116] This is exactly what the Kautalīya rules, namely, śastrabalam combined with śāstrabalam leads to the success of the State[117] As the *śāstrabalam*, and *tapomantrabalam* were the possession of the Brahman, and as he was prohibited from earning his livelihood by taking to other professions, there is the justification for bestowing lavish gifts on the Brahmans who ministered to the religious and spiritual needs of the whole community This dependence of each community on the other explains why there were few or no civil wars in ancient India

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116 तपो मन्त्रबलं नित्य ब्राह्मणेषु प्रतिष्ठितम् ।
अस्त्रबाहुबल नित्य क्षत्रियेषु प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥ Śānti, 94 14
नाब्रह्म क्षत्रमुध्नोति नाक्षत्र ब्रह्म वर्धते ।
ब्रह्मक्षत्र च सपृक्तमिह चामुत्र वर्धते ॥

117 *Ar Śās*, Bk I 9

118 भूमिवर्ज धन राजा जित्वा राजन्महाहवे ।
अपि चात्मौषधी शश्वदाजहार प्रतर्दन ॥ Śānti 96 20

One is the *Nītivākyāmrta* of Somadeva, and the other is *Laghvarhannītisāra* of Hemacandra. While the former follows Kautalya almost *verbatim*, the latter is an abridged version in Sanskrit of a large Prākrt work the *Brhadarhannītiśāstra*, now lost to us. Confining ourselves to an examination of these treatises from the point of view of the ethics of war, we find the whole thing is a copy of the Brahmanical codes which we have been examining. An almost futile attempt has been made to find out differences between the *Nītivākyāmrta* and the *Arthaśāstra*.[127] In conformity with the Brahmanical treatises Hemacandra prescribes that the king shall not go to war before employing all the three diplomatic means, sāma, dāna and bheda,[128] for, it is said, battle involves loss of many lives. But once a war is started, it must be conducted on righteous lines, so that there may be little loss of man-power. Cruel, poisoned, or treacherous weapons should not be used. Hemacandra prescribes further that the following should be immune from slaughter in war: ascetics, Brahmans, those who do not wear weapons of war, the afflicted, eunuchs, the naked, those who are asleep, those suffering from illness, refugees, those holding blades of grass in their mouths, guests, and persons engaged in sacrifices.[129] Such slaughter was equal to murder and did not, therefore, belong to righteous warfare.[130]

127 See Dr Winternitz's article on *Jainas in Indian Literature*, pp 161 ff in the *Indian Culture*, Vol I, Oct 1934

128 II 1 19-20

129 II 1 27 59 61 ff

130 See Hopkins *Ethics of India* (1924), pp 101 ff

SECTION V

DHARMA VIJAYA, ASURA VIJAYA AND LOBHA VIJAYA

There was another division of war—Dharmavijaya, Asura Vijaya and Lobha Vijaya, as contemplated by Kautalya and Aśoka, and occasionally mentioned in the epics and the Purānas While the division of the Dharmayuddha and the Kūtayuddha was in the epic tradition, this kind of division seems to have been an innovation of Kautalya, and an improvement on the old systems and methods Dharmavijaya is an equivalent of Dharmayuddha, while Lobhavijaya and Asuravijaya come under the category of Kūtayuddha, whose methods we shall presently examine Before the discovery of the *Arthaśāstra,* and even several years after its discovery, the term *dharmavijaya* occurring in the inscriptions of Aśoka was a puzzle to Aśokan scholars, who unfortunately took for granted that the Emperor was a Buddhist, connected the term with the Buddhist Dharma, and interpreted it just contrary to what it connotes We are told on no authority that the term which occurs in the XIII Rock Edict means 'conquest by morality' It is contended that Aśoka substituted 'conquest by morality' for 'conquest by arms' This is discussed at length in my *The Mauryan Polity*[131] Suffice it to say here that if we accept that Aśoka became a monk and gave up arms, then according to the Hindu and even the Buddhist conception he relinquished the throne and could not have been an emperor And with complete disarmament, with States of people professing

131 See also my paper *Dharmavijaya* in *K B Pathak Commemoration Volume,* pp 280-286 (1934)

different faiths and creeds, the vast empire could not be maintained even for a short period

In interpreting this term, the whole Edict must be taken into account In the latter part we read according to Hultzsch's translation "And they (foresters) are told of the power to (punish them) which Devānāmpiya (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance, in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed '[132] What is this power to punish and kill them except by the employment of weapons of war? What is that repentance except that he waged in Kalinga an unrighteous war involving the slaughter of innocents and that he took a vow from that day to resort only to righteous methods of war? Dharmavijaya is a term of much political significance and Aśoka born and bred in the Kautalīyan school of politics, (there is a story that Kautalya continued to be the minister of Aśoka's father also), must have followed his political injunctions It is wrong to take all his Edicts as religious Edicts They are all political in character and deserve to be re-edited and interpreted from the political standpoint of Kautalya to do justice to a very great emperor of India, who had equal regard for all orthodox and heretic sects of his time[133]

Though scholars bestowed no independent thought on the term *dharmavijaya* in Aśoka's inscriptions and followed the translation 'conquest by morality', Mr F J Monahan doubted whether the interpretation was correct and remarked that *dūtas* did not go to different countries to preach Buddhism but to carry the

132 *Corpus*, p 69

133 pp 254 ff

message of Dharma What this meant he could not explain though the explanation lies buried in the *Arthaśāstra*[134] According to Kautalya, Dharmavijaya meant that a conquering king was satisfied with the acknowledgement of his overlordship by the inferior and defeated powers as also by others The motive was to avoid war as far as possible, and to promote peaceful and diplomatic relations with neighbours and foreigners[135] This was the mission on which Aśoka sent, not missionaries, but political envoys In the Lobhavijaya the aim of the conqueror was to covet the territory and the treasure of the enemy In the Asura-vijaya, the enemy is captured and deprived of his kingdom, treasure, sons, and wives Or he was slain and his country was reduced to ashes[136] Dharmavijaya means a righteous method of warfare where diplomacy and conciliation were pressed into service to avoid actual fighting as far as possible It was an attempt to maintain pacific relations The dominating personality of the conqueror evoked regard from alien states amounting to an acknowledgement of his superiority or equality It is a war of defence, though defence presupposes aggression

We shall conclude our remarks on Dharmayuddha with the following quotation from Griffith[137]

> 'Let the soldier good in battle, never guilefully conceal

134 *Early History of Bengal*, p 219

135 In his *Rajadharma* (Adyar, 1941) Prof K V Rangaswami Aiyangar has accepted this interpretation, pp 140-43

136 Bk II, 1, *Mauryan Polity*, pp 128-29

137 *Specimens of Indian Poetry*, p 9 Cp Śānti, 100 27-29, *Āpast* II 5 10 11

(Wherewithal to smite the unwary) in his staff the treacherous steel
Let him scorn to bark his javelin let the valiant never anoint
With full poison pierce his arrows, never put fire upon the point,
In his car or on his war-horse, should he chance his foe to meet,
Let him smite not, if he find him lighted down upon his feet
Let him spare one standing suppliant, with his closed hands raised on high,
Spare him if he sink exhausted, spare him if for life he crave,
Spare him crying out for mercy, 'take me for I am thine slave'
Still remembering his duty, never let the soldier smite
One unarmed, defenceless, mourning for one fallen in the fight
Never strike the sadly wounded, never let the brave attack
One by sudden terror smitten, turning in base fight his back.'

The Kūtayuddha The unrighteous war in which principles were sacrificed at the altar of expediency went by the name of kūtayuddha We meet with the term kūta in the *Atharva Veda,*[138] translated differently as horn, trap, hammer, etc The hymn says 'Here are spread the fetters of death, which stepping into thou are not released, let this kūta slay of yonder army by

138 Bk VIII 8 16

thousands' According to the *Brahmānda Purāna*, kūtayuddha was also known as Citrayuddha in which māyā was put into practice. It is said that a certain commander of Bhanda resorted to this and created a Sarpanī from whose limbs thousands of poisonous snakes came out in torrents and bewildered the śaktis on the other side (IV 2) Whatever the word *kūta* may mean, its occurrence may be tolerable proof of its use in killing the hostile army by thousands Neither horn nor trap will kill an army in thousands. So we venture to interpret the word in the Kautalīyan sense In this, resort was had to crafty methods, intrigue, charms, and spells against the enemy, besides deadly weapons The *Atharva Veda* is full of these Mention is made of amulets (*mani*) leading to the overthrow of the rival and to his own success[139] One or two hymns may be cited as typical

'O Indra, confound the army of our enemies with the blast of fire, of wind, make them disappear, scattering' (5)

'Let Indra confound the army let the Maruts slay with force let Agni take away its eyes let it go back conquered' (6)

'Yonder army of our adversaries, O Maruts, that comes contending against us with force, pierce ye it with baffling darkness, that one of them may not know another'[140]

The kūtayuddha was the negation of the laws of war It permitted the use of deadly and poisoned

139 Bk III 3

140 Bk III 26

weapons which would slay thousands of men,[141] to the entire satisfaction of birds and beasts of prey[142] From a hymn[143] of the *Atharva Veda* we may conclude that poisoned arrows were largely used, and the conqueror was usually afraid of them

One aspect of this was tūsnīm yuddha, or silent warfare[144] It was to strike the enemy secretly, as contrasted with prakāśa yuddha or open warfare The principles underlying this method of warfare were in vogue from the time of the *Rg Veda* We meet in the *Atharva Veda* a number of battle-charms with the use of plants like *aśvattha*,[145] to overcome an enemy Similarly there are rites of sorcery against hostile warriors,[146] and the use of incantations[147] Kautalya gives elaborate details of this war, drawing largely, as we have to infer, from the *Atharva Veda* This had led some scholars to the conclusion that this irreligious war has had the approval of Kautalya Writing a treatise on War Polity, Kautalya had to refer to every aspect of it So he also wrote on the nature and principles of the kūtayuddha It is wrong to regard him as Machiavellian in his recommendations If he countenanced the kūtayuddha, he had no business to rule that incendiarism, as an instrument of war, was an irreligious and inhuman

141 *A V* Bk I, 20, 21, Bk VIII, 8 4-5
142 Bk XI, 9 and 10
143 Bk IV, 6
144 Bk VII, 6
145 Bk IV, 19
146 Bk III, 6
147 Bk X, 5.

method of destruction[148] In his view, if the enemy practised kūtayuddha, the defender must also resort to it That is, to advert to a previous remark, opponents should be paid in their own coin Hence warriors were taught every mode of warfare They should be equal to the occasion lest they should be overpowered by cunning or intrigue To that extent, for defence purposes the kūtayuddha is permissible, and the defender resorted to it only if he found the opponent resorting to it Otherwise it is forbidden

It has been realised that the use of poison fire, and similar means which are features of the kūtayuddha were regarded neither just nor fair in war For they would result in a vast amount of destruction of men, property, cattle, and of other non-combatants Thus laying waste the villages and corn-fields of the enemy, poisoning of tanks and wells, using weapons with poisoned tips, setting fire to the camp, striking the enemy concealed, decoying him into an unfavourable position and striking him there attacking him when fatigued or in sleep or engaged in hunting, are the various methods of attacking the enemy Other methods which were resorted to in kūtayuddha were to stir up rebellion among the enemy's subjects by bribery and through secret agents, to murder him, to make surprise attacks on him at night In short, the baser

148 Bk XIII 4 It may be noted in passing that there are a number of hymns addressed to Agni in the Atharva Veda evidently to conquer the hostile army with fire (Bk II 19, XI 10 18-19) But it was condemned as irreligious down the ages (see for instance *Pudukottai State Inscriptions*, 744)

methods of diplomacy, like māyā and indrajālā, underlay the kūtayuddha [149]

Though Śukra would recommend its use to subdue the enemy who resorted to questionable methods and who therefore waged an unjust war,[150] he definitely says later on that in realising his ideal in that manner, the conqueror places disgrace in front and honour at the back [151] In other words, such a king incurs disgrace in this world and sinks into hell According to the *Rāmāyana,* the Rāksasa indulged in kūtayuddha and it was not commendable to honourable men [152] The *Agni Purāna* allows weaker powers to resort to wily and underhand methods,[153] when they found that they had no other alternative than to engage in war

Thus, though some of the Nīti treatises seem to permit this unrighteous warfare, yet the didactic epics and law codes do not support it at all As a method of war it is condemned as unjust and unfair

Intimately connected with this subject are two further methods of warfare explained in the *Kautalīya,* the asura and the lobhavijaya, to which we have already referred In distinguishing a threefold warfare and classifying the adharma war into two kinds—asura and lobhavijaya—Kautalya draws a distinction between the two But it may be noted that this was a peculiar division of Kautalya's For the asura form of war is

149 *Ar Śās*, Bk XII, 2, *Kāmandaka* 19 54-66

150 IV, 7 1 350 and 725

151 *Ibid*, 11 732-33

152 Yuddha, 50 15

153 Ch 240 16

mentioned in the *Rāmāyana*[154] A feature of this was the employment of the diplomatic instrument māyā Guile is chiefly used to overcome the enemy We know that Indrajit produced a *māyā Sītā* before Rāma's army and killed her so that the army might become dejected and lose all enthusiasm. In the *Śukranītī* again the asura yuddha is among the traditionally accepted kinds of war[155] We have seen according to the precepts of fair fighting that the kingdom of the enemy should not be annexed, nor his women treated unchivalriously Again, no bodily punishment should be inflicted on the person of the king or his commander But the asura war, which is the most heinous of all the three, approves of all these illegal and forbidden methods in scoring a victory Even in actual battle there was no straight fight in this form of war, but victory was sought through wily means On this account Kautalya advises an inferior power to keep such a demon-like conqueror at a distance by offering him land and wealth Otherwise he would be wiped out of existence altogether One example of asura war in the Mauryan period was the war with Kalinga fought by Aśoka[156] Its salutary effect was to inaugurate a policy of dharmavijaya in his foreign politics

Traces of this kind of war are found in the Śangam works which also breathe the lofty atmosphere of dharmayuddha From the *Puranānūru* (15) it is seen that the ruin of the enemy's city was effected by ploughing the roads and streets with donkeys and sow-

154 V 100
155 IV 7 221
156 XIII Rock Edict See Dikshitar's paper in *Woolner Commemoration Volume* (Lahore)

ing seeds of castor, cotton, and other cereals[157] Another stanza (392) says that even the houses of gods were not spared In the expedition against Kalingam, though it is said to have been fought on principles of fair fighting Karunākara Tondaimān laid waste the whole of the sea-coast kingdom of Kalinga[158] A ruthless war was asura yuddha But it was rarely indulged in, and we may conjecture that it is a relic of the ancient warfare fought by the primitive tribes who had neither a code of chivalry nor a code of ethics

Lobhavijaya The other kind of war, lobhavijaya, was not considered to be as base as the asura form In it the ravaging of the enemy's territory, or poisoning of his army, was not contemplated Nor was there to be a wholesale destruction of men and territory The conqueror was imbued with greed He was satisfied if he got gain in land or money A weak power should satisfy such a conqueror with wealth or with the cession of part of his territory Covetousness is the motive underlying this type of war It came under the category of an unrighteous war, for covetousness is no virtue but a sin, out of which spring envy, jealousy, or hatred It would lead indirectly to the wars of aggression, which are not recommended by the Nīti Śāstras So the *Mahābhārata* says 'Have your eyes on righteousness, casting off covetousness You should not abandon your duty (*svadharma*) from lust or from desire of cattle '[159] This

157 Cp Roman custom of sowing salt and pronouncing curses

158 See *Kalingattupparani*

159 सत्व धर्ममवेक्षस्व हित्वा लोभमसांप्रतम् ।
न च कामान्न च द्रोहात्स्वधर्मं हातुमर्हसि ॥

Śānti, 106 17, This is also the teaching of *Tiruk-kural*

lobha vijaya, just like the asura vijaya, is an offensive war, the motive being exploitation 'Envious of the welfare of other nations, jealous of their success, hating them because of their peace and liberty, their own evil splendour, these (kings and others) open out and declare war to satisfy their covetousness, to slake that idiotic thirst in which covetousness ends—the thirst of conquest for the sake of conquest Such a war is the worst of sins and the men, who begin it or carry it on, are though all the world proclaim their glory, the vilest and meanest of sinners'[160] These words would equally describe the Hindu view

The phrase 'Laws of War' implies that if these rules were broken or not observed properly, the State had a right to punish the transgressor One punishment was social ostracism. He became an outcaste and was debarred from enjoying the social privileges which he as a Kṣatriya had enjoyed so far[161] Again, it is said that the warrior who in order to save his life retreated from the field of battle leaving his comrades behind, should be done to death with sticks or stones Or he might be rolled in a mat of dry grass and burnt to death In a word, it is laid down that such warriors as threw to the winds the regulations of conduct and discipline laid down for them should be slain like wild animals The punishments were no doubt severe, but they helped to keep strict discipline among the rank and file of the Kṣatriya hosts

160 Stopford A Brooke, *A Discourse on War*, p 675 (The Hibbert Journal, 1915-16)

161 *Mhb*, Śānti. 96 9-10

CONCLUSION

The foregoing survey may convince an impartial student of history that the ancient Hindus had evolved precepts on fair fighting which formed a chivalrous code of military honour But it must be admitted that these laws of war including the laws of chivalry were so varied and so complicated that they led to ineffective discipline, in some cases owing to excess on the part of leaders and in others to the gradual extinction of the martial qualities by misplaced generosity through forgiving dangerous enemies who sought shelter or refuge in order to study the enemy's weakness and then attack him with redoubled force Grahavarman's assassination and Rājyaśrī's incarceration may be referred to here as having evoked contemporary horror and condemnation in the seventh century A D 'The sad fate of Pṛthivī Rāja Cahamāna at the close of the Hindu period,' says a recent writer, 'tells an eloquent tale of the military tragedy of ancient India '[162]

162 Date *op cit* p 85

CHAPTER III

WEAPONS OF WAR AS GATHERED FROM LITERATURE

SECTION I

BOWS AND ARROWS

Dhanur Veda classifies the weapons of offence and defence into four—the *mukta,* the *amukta*, the *muktāmukta* and the *yantramukta*. The *Nītiprakāśikā,* on the other hand, divides them into three broad classes, the *mukta* (thrown), the *amukta* (not thrown), and the *mantramukta* (discharged by mantras).[1] The bows (*dhanus*) and arrows (*isu*) are the chief weapons of the *mukta* group.

It would not be out of place here to examine their characteristics and uses as recorded in the earliest literature known to the Hindus. Both in the Samhitās and in the Brāhmanas we read of bows and arrows besides the inevitable vajra of Indra, the Lord of Heaven. The very fact that our military science was named Dhanur Veda proves sufficiently clearly that the bow and arrow were the principal weapons of war in those times. It was known by different terms as sārnga, kodanda, and kārmuka. Whether these were synonyms of the same thing or were different, it is difficult to say. In the age of the Rg Veda Samhitā, it would appear from the terms isukrt and isukāra that there existed a regular profession of arrow-

1 *Nīti,* II, 11-13, Cp. *Agni Purāna,* 249.2

makıng [2] The Rg Vedıc smıth was not only a steel-workeı but also an arrow-makeı Whıle the head of the aııow was pıepared by hım, the rest was fınıshed by a guıld of arrow-makers [3]

It ıs ınterestıng to read ın the Aıtareya Brāhmana, a composıtıon earlıer than 600 B C, how the gods fashıoned an arrow [4] In the Upāsads of the Somayajña the gods made an arrow Of ıt the poınt was Agnı, the socket Soma, the shaft Vısnu, and the feathers Vaıuna Usıng butter as the bow, the aırow was thıown Thıs enabled the pıercıng of cıtadels Agaın, at the Upāsads recourse was had to four teats foı mılk and thıs was because of the socket, the shaft, and the featheıs Further, the fore-offerıngs and the afteı offeıııngs weıe dıvıne aımour [5] These foıe-offerıngs and afteı-offerıngs weıe to pıevent rendıng by an arrow Thus here we are ıntroduced to the essentıal elements of an arrow, and ıts effectıve use Agaın ın the Rājasūya portıon of the Pañcıka V mentıon ıs made of weapons lıke the bow and the arrow, and the defensıve cuıirass for the body [6]

To turn our attentıon to the Kausītakī Brāhmana ın the Abhyudıta sacrıfice, the daksınā (fee) ıs a bow wıth thıee aırows It ıs saıd that a bow ıs unfaılıng ın gıvıng a safe and sound journey [7] Thus the pııncıpal weapons that figure ın thıs class of lıterature are bows and arrows

The *Nītıprakāśıkā* mentıons twelve kınds of arms under the *mukta* category Among these the bow figures

2 R V I, 184, 3, Vāja Sam 30 7

3 See *IHQ*, V, p 434 and *n* on p 435

4 I 25 IV, 8 (A B Keıth)

5 I 26 IV, 9

6 VII 19 (34 1)

7 *K Brāh* IV 2

prominently and it still exists It is four cubits in height, bent at three places and with a tusk-like opening[8] We are told that the bow-string should be taken by the right hand and bent by the left The thumb should be placed on the arrow Two strings are invariably used for a bow The left-hand portion of the bowman must possess a defensive leather armour, and a quiver is to be hung from his neck Fourteen different movements in the practice and use of this weapon are given[9] The word *astra* in the Śukranīti is interpreted by Dr Oppert as a bow[10] But to interpret it as an arrow seems to be more correct[11] The *Agnipurāna* furnishes details of a bow The rod of a bow may be made of any of the three materials, steel, horn, or wood[12] The strings may be made of the fibre of bamboo or other trees The rod of a wooden bow was four cubits or six feet in length, and that of middling or inferior class measured a cubit less Thick substances were wrapped round the grip so as to make the shaft of the bow steady and also easy The bow made of steel must have a small grip, and its middle portion is said to resemble the eyebrow of a lady It is usually made in parts, or together and inlaid with gold The horns used in the making of bows are those of a buffalo, rhinoceros, or rohisa and of the mythical animal śarabha, while the wood is of sandal,

8 *Nīti*, II 17 and IV 8-9

9 *Ibid*, IV 18-20

10 *Śukra*, IV 6-10

11 *Ibid* The term *astra* means a missile, anything which is discharged Āgneya astra means a fiery arm as distinguished from a firearm For a firearm means any weapon projected by means of fire

12 *Agni Purāna*, 245 5 6 and 7-10

sāla, cane kukubha or dhabala But the bamboo bow is the best of all Arjuna's Gāndīva was perhaps of this material While the bowstrings are of muñjā grass, arka plant, hemp, cavedu, bamboo and sinew, the rod of the bow may be of gold, silver or copper Kautalaya distinguishes four kinds of bows—Kārmuka made of palmyra, Kodanda of bamboo, Druna of darnwood and Dhanus of bone or horn It may be noted in passing that the bow of Śrī Krsna was of horn

According to *Śivavyāsa Dhanur Veda,* the measurement of a bow is given as 4×24 inches [13] In the *Kodanda Mandana* the various characteristics of a bow are given Eighteen kinds of bows are mentioned according as the strings are heavy or light [14] The various weights and measurements of the different kinds of bows are also given in it The weight of a yogin's[14a] cāpa or bow is two palas, of one practising or learning the science, is 300 palas, and the weight of that which is made of reeds 400 palas, that which could be hit with the bowstring is also 400 palas, that used in battle 700 palas, and that used from a distance 950 or 1,000 palas Very heavy bows could not be used effectively A description of the divine bow used only by celestials is then given

It is said that the archer who uses bows as described in the Śāstras attains great glory [15] For example, Bhīsma used a bow six cubits long against Śankha, a diocesan That Kālidāsa is well acquainted with the

13 *Śāranga,* 1748

14 Fibres of murva, arka, śana, gavethu, venu and snāyu are mentioned by Kautalya

14a One endowed with magical powers

15 *Kodanda,* Ch 5.

use of the bow is seen from the Raghuvamśa He refers to the twang of the bowstring of both Rāma and Laksmana heard by Tātakā [16] Also in the *Śākuntalam* there are several references in which Dusyanta is credited with high skill in archery [17] Thus the chief weapon of war from primitive days was the bow which was drawn to the ear, and not as in Greece, to the breast Its use is not altogether extinct even now The Khaśas or the hill tribes of Assam have a simple bow while the Western Nagas have a bullet bow Incidentally we may speak of the crow-bow whose origin is attributed to Mongolia and which is now in popular use with the tribes of Indo-China [18] In Wilson's words, 'the Hindus cultivated archery most assiduously and were very Parthians in the use of the bow on horse-back ' One feature of this weapon was that it could be handled by all the four classes of warriors

The arrow comes next Its length is three cubits. Two movements are peculiar to it How an arrow came to be designated *śara* is seen in the Śatapatha Brāhmana,[19] where it is stated that when Indra threw his thunderbolt against Vrtra it became separated into four parts The first three were the wooden sword (sphya), post (yūpa) and the chariot The last piece which was broken off by the blow fell on the ground as a śara (arrow) Because it was broken it came to be so designated There are also other references to it What the arrow-head is to the arrow so is the Agni to the

16 *Raghu* 11 15, 12 103

17 *Śākun* II 4 and 6

18 See *Man in India,* (Aug 1932)

19 1 2 4 See also VI 5 2 10

sacrifice[20] The Kausītakī Bıāhmana mentıons ıt as a part of the sacıificıal fee[21]

The makıng of aıiows ıs descrıbed ın the *Agnı Puıāna as follows*[22] They are made eıther of ıron or bamboo, the latter well graıned, of good veın, and of a golden colour[23] It has featheıs at the taıl end and must be oıled so as to be easy of use It also possesses gold-tıpped poınts Thıee kınds of arrows are dıstınguıshed, the best, the mıddlıng, and the ınferıor Each must be dıscharged by holdıng ıts featheıed end wıth the thumb The shaft of the superıor type of arrows measures 12 mustıs (perhaps one mustı—one pala), of the mıddlıng one 11, and of the last 10 mustıs Manu refers to these weapons also Kālıdāsa speaks of shaıp, deep and strong shafts,[24] whıle Kautalya mentıons five kınds, venu, śara, śalāka, dandasāra, and nārāca[25] Some

20 II 3 3

21 IV 2

22 *Agnı Purāna,* 245 12

23 Accoıdıng to the *Harıhara Caturanga* they were made of tālatrnam, druma (sāla or vamśa), danta, śrnga of śarabha (Bk v) In the *Vısnudharmottara* they aıe saıd to be made of metal, śrnga and dāru lıke vamśa or bamboo Thıs shows that ın the passage of tıme, the old thıngs were found useless and gıven up The use of metal ıs sıgnıficant and ındıcates the latest development ın the art of war It ıs worth nothıng that the *Laksanaprakāśa* quotes from a work *Vaıdyakatantra* wheıe a cāpa of saptānga (seven lımbs) ıs consıdered auspıcıous, and from yet another work *Traıyambıka Dhanurveda* whıch refers to ten kınds of *cāpa* (pp 275-77) Most of them agree wıth the descrıptıon gıven ın the *Vīracıntāmanı Dhanurveda* (*Ibıd*, p 279)

24 *Śākun* 1 10

25 Nārāca was a bāna made of metal The term bāna ın the tıme of Bhoja meant an arrow Here the shaft was lıght but stıff wıth a sharp poınt Vasıstha speaks of nārāca made of ıron, five

are provided with iron points for cutting, bone points for rending, and wooden ones for piercing A man who could pierce through metal plates half the thickness of a finger, or twenty-four layers of leather, was considered proficient [26]

How to use both the bow and arrow is thus elaborately described [27] Taking the arrow with the right and the bow with the left hand, the archer should string it The feathered end of the arrow must be made to rest on it, leaving a small space between the string and the rod The bow must be drawn to the ear, and to the full extent in a straight line Care must be taken in discharging an arrow The position he should take when aiming at a particular object must be a triangular one But this is not the only position known to the science of archery We have others also The first is the Samapada or a standing position where the leg, the calf, the palm, and the thumb of the hands are closely knit against each other The Vaiśākha consists in standing on tip-toe with thighs in a fixed position and a space between the two feet on the ground The Mandala is done by standing in a circular or semi-circular posture, leaving more space between the two feet than in the former The Ālīdha is a position where the right thigh and knee are to be kept steady while the left is drawn back The Pratyālīdha is the reverse of this position That of Sthānam occupied on the whole the measurement equal to the fingers In the Niścala the left knee was held

sided and five-feathered It is said that very few succeeded in shooting with a nārāca (*I H Q*, vii, p 707)

26 *Ibid*, p 708

27 *Agni Purāna*, 249 9 19

straight and the right knee bent The Vikata was where the right leg was placed straight and the Samputa was where both the legs were raised and the knees were bent, while in the Svastika both legs were stretched straight, the feet protruding outside[28]

Arrian[29] speaks of one mode of equipping the Indian soldiers for war The foot-soldiers invariably carried bows Resting these on the ground and pressing them with the left foot, the soldier discharged the arrow The shaft in use was about three yards in length 'There is nothing which can resist an Indian archer's shot, neither shield nor breast-plate nor any stronger defence if such there be On the left hand they carry bucklers of undressed hide Some wear javelins in the place of bows, but all of them wear a sword with a broad blade about three cubits long This they use only in close fight'

It is interesting to examine side by side with these the weapons used in ancient Greece and Rome[30] The missile used was the javelin or dart But with later developments in archery on account of the shortness of its range it soon fell into disuse There seem to have been different varieties of the bow, such as long bows and

28 The recent finds at Mohenjodaro and Harappa reveal a number of weapons of war in use in the Chalcolithic period These are bows and arrows, axes, spears, daggers, maces, slings, and catapults The sword is however conspicuous by its absence Confining our attention for the present to the bow and arrow, and judging from a specimen of an arrow head made of copper and from the absence of stone arrow heads, we have to infer that these weapons were sparingly used

29 *Indika* of Arrian (McCrindle)

30 The *Tutorial History of Greece*, pp 336-37

cross bows To the Greek, Apollo was the bow-god In Greece, bows were made of wool, horn, horse-hair, and even hide But the disadvantages of such arrows and bows were experienced during winter, when they became relaxed and consequently became inefficient In India in almost every war recorded either in the Purānic or Epic literature, bows and arrows loom very large It would be interesting to recall the story of Prince Peerless from the Jātaka[31] 'One day his king wanted to test his skill and asked him to bring down a cluster of mango fruits with an arrow from a tree beyond On this he removed the white cloths which he had on and put on a red waist cloth and fastened his girdle He equipped himself with a sword on his left side, a mail of gold a bow with a red string and turban on his head and with arrow set to the bow, he asked the king whether he is to get the cluster with an upward shot or he is to make the arrow drop on it The king who was not acquainted with the latter method suggested it The arrow was discharged and down came both the cluster and the arrow, the latter making a terrible noise'

The prince caught the arrow in one hand and the cluster in the other so that they might not fall down on the ground The king commended his skill and duly honoured him From this it would appear that this great and useful military science was flourishing and received encouragement from the State

SECTION II

FIRE-ARMS

In this connexion it would be interesting to

31 The *Jātakas*, Vol II 181 (Cowell)

examine the true nature of the āgneya-astras Kautalya describes agni-bāna,[32] and mentions three recipes—agni-dhārana, ksepyo-agni-yoga, and viśvāsaghāti The agni-dhārana is said to consist of small balls made of the dung of the ass, camel, goat and sheep, mixed with the wood of sarala (pinus longifolia), devadāru (deodar), the leaf of pūtitrina (lemon grass), guggulu śrīvestaka (turpentine) and lac The ksepyo-agni-yoga was a fire-arm consisting of 'the dung of the horse, ass, camel or cattle, mixed with priyāla cūrna (buchanania latifolia), avalguja (vernonia authelmintica), lamp black and bees' wax' Viśvāsaghāti was composed of 'the powder of all the metals as red as fire or the mixture of the powder of kumbhi, lead, zinc, mixed with the charcoal powder of the flowers of paribhadraka, palāśa and hair, and with oil wax and turpentine' From the nature of the ingredients of the different compositions it would appear that they were highly inflammable and could not be easily extinguished About the third and the last recipe, a recent writer remarks 'The Viśvāsaghāti-agni-yoga was virtually a bomb which burst and the fragments of metals were scattered in all directions The agni-bāna was the fore-runner of a gun-shot Sometimes the metallic head of the arrow was made red-hot by charcoal fire and the hot arrow will prove more dangerous than the cool The aboriginal tribes of Kols and Santals of Bengal and Bihar shoot bear with redhot arrows, which they say, kill the beasts while cool arrows prove ineffective It is to be noted that among the war

32 XIII 4 In the Lalitopākhyāna of the Brahmānda Purāna fire-arms are mentioned as being used in the war with Bhanda

materials collected in the battlefield of Kuruksetra charcoal was one '[33]

Intimately connected with this topic is the question whether the ancient Hindus knew the use of gunpowder and guns Sir A M Elliot tells us that the Arabs learnt the manufacture of gunpowder from India, and that before their Indian connexion they had used arrows of naphtha It is also argued that though Persia possessed saltpetre in abundance, the original home of gunpowder was India It is said that the *Turkish* word *top* and the Persian *tupang* or *tufang* are derived from the Sanskrit *dhūpa* The dhūpa of the Agni Purāna means a rocket, perhaps a corruption of the Kautalīyan term *nāla dīpikā*[34]

In the light of the above remarks we shall trace the evolution of fire-arms in ancient India Commencing our enquiry from the *Rg Veda Samhitā*, there is evidence to show that agni (fire) was praised for vanquishing an enemy The *Atharva Veda* shows the employment of fire-arms with lead shots[35] The Aitareya Brāhmana[36] describes an arrow with fire at its tip The term *sūrmi* in the *Rg Veda*,[37] considered in the light of its use as the death penalty for criminal offenders as in the *Mānavadharma-śāstra*,[38] must have been of the nature of a hollow tube and has nothing to do with guns

In the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*, the employ-

33 Jogesh Chandra Ray *Fire-Arms in Ancient India*, *I H Q* viii p 268

34 *Ibid*, pp 586-88 See also P K Gode s article in the *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol II, pp 169-76

35 I 16 4

36 I 4 8

37 I 5

38 XI 103

ment of āgneyāstras is frequently mentioned, and this deserves careful examination in the light of other important terms like *ayah, kanapa* and *tulā-guda* Though the commentator Nīlakantha would easily explain them away as guns, *kanapa* is perhaps the same as *kunapa* in the *Matsya Purāna*[39] In the *Daśakumāra-carita* the term is *kanapa,* and the reading of the *Matsya Purāna* perhaps may be faulty The other term, *tulā-guda* which is said to produce a noise like thunder is difficult to explain[40] Guda is perhaps the same as gula, meaning a ball projected by a lever (tula) In the *Matsya Purāna* ayoguda stands for a bullet of iron[41]

In the Epics again aurva figures as a fire-arm[42] Aurvāgni means subterranean fire, the invention of which was probably attributed to the sage Aurva It cannot be taken seriously as a fire-arm and may fitly find a place among the mythical weapons of offence We have spoken already of nārāca, and it is worthy of note that the term appears side by side with nālika in the Epics[43] Evidently they refer to two distinct types of metallic arrows The nālikas were missiles often barbed In later days the term meant guns

The *Śukranītisāra* uses nālika in this sense and speaks of two kinds of nālikas, the large and the small answering perhaps to the siege gun and the field gun respectively The latter was used by horsemen and foot-men The bigger variety which had no wooden stock was carried on wheels The agnicūrna or gunpowder was

39 Ch 149 v 8
40 *Vana Parva,* 42 5
41 Ch 153 v 133
42 *Mhb*, Vana Parva, Ch 82
43 *Rāmā*, VI 45 23 *Mhb*, Bhīsma Parva, 106 33

composed of 4 to 6 parts of saltpetre, one part of sulphur, and one part of charcoal of arka, snuhi and other trees burnt in a pit and reduced to powder. Here is certain evidence of the ancient rockets giving place to actual guns in warfare. From the description of the composition of gunpowder, a later date is ascribed to the composition of the *Śukranīti* which cannot stand close scrutiny. For a critical study of the internal evidence of the *Śukranīti* compels us to treat that work as a composition of the pre-Gupta age. In the *Vāsistha Dhanurveda,* a later work, nārāca, nālika, śataghnī figure as fire-arms.[44]

A word may be said about the śataghna or śataghnī. Śukra and Vasistha use this word in the sense of cannon. But it is doubtful whether in earlier times, for instance in the epoch of the Epics, it meant a cannon. Possibly it did not. In its literal sense it meant a machine able to kill a hundred men. It seems to have been a heavy column of stone or timber fixed with iron spikes on the ramparts of fortresses. Kautalya refers to it in this sense only. The ancient fortresses of Ayodhyā and Lankā had these machines provided on their ramparts.[45] There is the authority of the *Hari-vamśa* to indicate that there were smaller types of these machines carried in the hand. But these types do not find mention in the later military literature, the term used there unmistakably refers to cannon. It can therefore be safely concluded that these weapons, guns,

44 See also *Vīracintāmani Dhanurveda* quoted in the *Laksana prakāśā,* p. 282.

45 See P. C. Dharma. *The Rāmāyana, Polity,* Madras (1941), pp. 72-73.

and cannon were popular in India at the best from about the commencement of the Christian Era

SECTION III

OTHER WEAPONS

The Bhindipāla and the nine following are minor weapons of this class Probably this was a heavy club which had a broad and bent tail end, measuring one cubit in length [46] It was to be used with the left foot of the warrior placed in front The various uses of this weapon were cutting, hitting, striking and breaking [47] It was like a kunta but with a big blade [48] It was used by the Asuras in their fight with Kārtavīrya Arjuna

The next, śakti, is identified with the spear [49] It was two cubits long and had an open and a broad mouth in shape like the leaf of a tree Its ends resembled the udder of a cow and were four hastas in length It required the use of both the hands Six kinds of position regarding this are given The blade was of metal and the handle of wood This as well as the Bhindipāla are mentioned also by Kautalya Kālidāsa puts its use for cutting open the body [50]

46 *Nīti*, IV 30-31

47 *Agni Purāna*, 252 v 15

48 Ganapati Sastri, Vol I p 252

49 *Nīti*, IV 32-35, Ganapati Sastri, Vol I p 251, *Raghu*, 12 77

50 The Auśanasa Dhanurveda gives more details The śakti is said to be of three kinds—the best, middling and inferior Their handle was again of four kinds—bamboo, wood, ivory and iron (See *Laksana Prakāśa*, pp 313 ff)

The Drughana, again in shape like the mudgara, is translated as a latchet by Dr Oppert[51] but probably was a wooden mace or a staff headed with a heavy spiked ball of iron, as is seen from the further details given in the stanza Its length was from 4 feet to 2 inches, and it was put to four kinds of use It is also mentioned by Kautalya

The Tomara is another weapon of war frequently mentioned in all kinds of warfare[52] It was of two kinds, an iron club (*sarvāyasam*) and a javelin (*danda*)[53] According to Vaiśampāyana it was a club three cubits long and capable of three different movements According to the *Agni Purāna* it was to be with the help of an arrow of straight feathers, and was powerful in dealing blows on the eyes and hands of an enemy But Kautalya's commentator says that it is a rod with an arrow-like edge It was of three kinds, the inferior, the middling, and the best, according to their respective measurements, 4, 4½ or 5 hastas in length

The Nālika[54] is a hand gun or musket rightly piercing the mark It was straight in form and hollow inside It discharged darts if ignited As has been already said, Śukrācārya speaks of two kinds of nālikas, one big and the other small The small one, with a little hole at the end, measured sixty angulas (*i e*, distance between the thumb and the little finger) dotted with several spots at the muzzle end Through the touch hole or at its breech

51 *Nīti*, IV 36-37

52 *Nīti*, IV 38-39, *Agni Purāna,* 252 v 10, Ganapati Sastri, p 252 (Pt 1)

53 Auśanasa Dhanurveda quoted in *Laksana Prakāśa,* pp 311 ff

54 *Ibid*, 40-41, *Śukra*, IV, 7, 194 200 *Kāman* V, 52, *Naisadha,* II 28

which contained wood, fire was conveyed to the charge It was generally used by foot-soldiers But the big gun had no wood at the breech and was so heavy that it had to be conveyed in carts The balls were made of iron, lead or other material Kāmandaka uses the word nālika in the sense of a firing gun as a signal for the unwary king Again in the *Naisadha,* a work of the mediaeval period, there is a beautiful stanza where the two brows of Damayantī are compared to the two bows of the god of love and goddess of love, and her two nostrils to the two guns capable of throwing balls Thus there is clear evidence of the existence and use of firing guns in India in very early times

The Laguda was probably a cudgel or heavy staff with metallic feet[55] It was two cubits long It could be used in four different ways It was sometimes put to the same uses as a Bhindipāla It was cased in a sheath of leather and held either with both hands or only with the right hand

The next weapon is the Pāśa,[56] which is a noose killing the enemy at one stroke, of two or three ropes used as a weapon attributed to the god Varuna It was triangular in shape and embellished with balls of lead It was associated with three kinds of movements Four different ways of throwing a noose are mentioned In the *Agni Purāna* are described eleven ways of turning it to one's own advantage by dexterity of hand some of them are turning back, advancing forward, using it lightly and also extraordinarily quickly and rending asunder In this Purāna a noose is ten cubits long made of cotton

55 *Nīti*, IV 42 43

56 *Ibid*, 45-46, *Agni Purāna*, ch 252 vv 5-8

thread, muñja grass, leather, or sinews of animals It may be thirty cubits long and folded up in three rings It was held on the left side and then taken to the right and whirled over the head It could be easily thrown from a horse in trot It is said that by the performance of the Varuna-Prakāśas, the sons of Prajāpati were released from the noose of Varuna [57]

The Cakra,[58] the next weapon in the category, is a circular disc with a small opening in the middle It was of three kinds of eight, six and four spokes [59] It was used in five or six ways It resembled the quoit of the Sikhs to-day The various uses of a disc were felling, whirling, rending, breaking, severing and cutting It is one of the instruments peculiar to Visnu Kautalya speaks of it as a movable machine

The Dantakanta[60] is another weapon of war, perhaps of the shape of a tooth, made of metal, of strong handle and a straight blade It had two movements

The Musundi[61] is the last weapon in this category and was probably an eight-sided cudgel It was furnished with a broad and strong handle Its peculiar movements were whirling and jerking It apparently comes from the root-meaning to cleave or break into pieces, and is perhaps akin to the Musala

All these weapons are found used in one battle or another both in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*

57 *Kau Brāh* V 3

58 *Nīti* IV 47-48, *Agni Purāna,* 252 vv 5-7

59 See Auśanasa Dhanurveda quoted in the *Laksana Prakāsa* pp 309 ff

60 *Ibid*, IV 49 50

61 *Ibid* IV 51-52 In the Brahmānda Purāna mention is mad of Bhusundi

SECTION IV

THE AMUKTA WEAPONS

We may now study the Amukta group of weapons, which are of twenty kinds according to Vaiśampāyana Here also we shall try to follow the list

The first was the Vajra or the thunderbolt In the Tīrthayātra portion of the *Mahābhārata*[62] a mythological origin is given to this weapon It was made out of the backbone of the Ṛsi Dadhīci which was freely given by him to Indra Originally perhaps it had six sides and made a terrible noise when hurled There seem to have been different varieties in the use of this weapon In the *Śatapatha Brāhmana*[63] the thunderbolt that Indra hurled against Vrtra is described as having 1,000 spikes and 100 edges The sacrificial post in the *Kausītakī Brāhmana*[64] is referred to as a thunderbolt Its breadth and length were fifty and a hundred miles respectively It had sharp points and a good handle Four movements are attributed to it Sometimes the ends of this weapon were whirled round in such a way as to hold a Bhindipāla in the middle The Pattiśa,[65] another weapon of war, is sometimes put to the uses of a Vajra

The Isu is translated as a hand sword by Dr Oppert, but may be an arrow or a reed-like weapon Halāyudha identifies it with Kāśāstra[66] It had a bent front, and the whole measured two cubits in length Four move-

62 Vana Parva 99

63 I 2 4

64 X 1

65 *Agni Purāna,* 252 v 16

66 *Raghu* , 12 23, *Nīti* V 7-8

ments were associated with it Perhaps Atikāya, the Rākṣasa, used it in his engagement with Lakṣmana

The Paraśu[67] is the battle-axe attributed to Paraśu-rāma, of great fame Its blade was made of steel and it had a wooden handle Another variety of it was a mighty staff holding the head of an ace at its end Three kinds are distinguished[68] It was used for cutting and rending The Semitic origin assigned to this weapon of war cannot be taken as correct, for there is nothing in the Rg Vedic religion that has not an Aryan source[69] The six ways of manipulating it to one's own advantage are raising aloft in a formidable manner, making it descend slowly or quickly, raising it rapidly, making it fixed, and making as if one had nothing in one's hand The commentator on the Kautalīya says it is a scimitar and semi-circular and twenty-four inches long

The Gośiras[70] is probably a spear resembling the shape of a cow-horn two feet in length The lower portion is made of wood, and the upper of iron Its action is five-fold Tradition represents that Indra presented this weapon to Manu, the first king of the world

The Asidhenu[71] is a small dagger one cubit in length It has three edges and is used in close fighting Its handle is slender and small Perhaps it is the same as the Asiyasti of Kautalya

67 *Ibid*, V 9 10

68 Auśanasa Dhanurveda quoted in *Lakṣana Prakāsa*, pp 310-11

69 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol I, p 88, *Agni Purāna*, 252 v 13

70 *Nīti*, V 11-14

71 *Ibid*, V, 15-17

The Lavitra[72] is a sickle, an instrument used in mowing and reaping It has a crooked shape, sharp at the end. It has a comparatively big handle Both hands are used in hurling it

The Āstara[73] is associated with the boomerang, and has a long head at the top and a knot at the foot, with the middle bent Whirling, drawing, and rending are its three movements In the Madras Museum three boomerangs—two of ivory and one of wood—are exhibited Dr Oppert had drawn attention to these, and said that they were not of Australian origin but native to the soil and especiallly to South India, where the boomerang is known as valaitadi or bent stick

The Kunta[74] is a lance and also a kind of barbed dart, six to ten cubits long It can be manipulated in six ways It is of iron and has six edges Śukra speaks of ten hastas as its measurement, having the end of a ploughshare capable of opposing another dart It is mentioned in the *Rg Veda* According to Kautalya's commentator who seems to follow the *Auśanasa Dhanurveda,*[75] it is a wooden rod 5 to 7 hastas in length It is of three kinds, the best, the middling, and the inferior, measuring 7, 6 and 5 hastas respectively The Rājavijaya, however, mentions a tool of 11 hastas and 9 hastas[76]

The Sthūna[77] was a pillar-like instrument and has

72 *Ibid*, 18-19
73 *Ibid*, 20-21
74 *Nīti*, 22-23, *Śukra* IV, 7, 215, Ganapati Sastri, 252 (Vol I)
75 Quoted in *Laksana Prakāsa,* pp 316 ff
76 Quoted in *Laksana Prakāsa,* p 318
77 *Nīti*, V 24

the height of a man with several knots at the top Dr Oppert speaks of it as an anvil

The Prāsa[78] measured four hastas and had a sharp face Vaiśampāyana speaks of it as made of bamboo with a metallic head It was handled in four ways Its length was seven cubits It figures also in the *Rg Veda* Kautalya's commentator speaks of it as 24 inches long with two handles

The Pināka[79] is the Śūla of Śiva, usually translated as a trident It had three prongs made of iron and the front is of brass It measured four cubits Śukrācārya speaks of it as triśūlas measuring three hastas Its uses are striking, thrusting, rending, cutting to pieces, breaking, and severing

The Gadā[80] is a heavy rod of iron with one hundred spikes at the top Three kinds are distinguished according to the *Auśanasa Dhanurveda*[81] One of four cubits was able to destroy elephants and rocks It could be handled in twenty different ways By means of gunpowder it could be used as a projectile weapon of war Its principal use was to strike the enemy either from a raised place or from both sides and strike terror into the enemy especially of the Gomutra array Various ways of handling it with skill were bending, stooping low, springing forward, retreating, ready to fly upon, and so doing as to generate fear Kautalya includes it in his list of movable machines

The Mudgara[82] was a staff in the shape of a hammer

78 *Śukra* 4 7 214 *Nīti*, V 25 26
79 *Nīti*, V, 27-29, *Śukra*, 4, 7, 215, *Agni Purāna*, 252 v 9
80 *Nīti*, V 29-34 *Śukra*, 4, 7, 212, *Agni Purāna*, 252 v 12
81 Quoted in *Lakṣana Prakāsa*, p 315
82 *Nīti*, V 35 36, *Raghu*, 12-73, *Kautalya* (Tr), 101

three cubits in length, and with a strong circular handle The *Amarakośa* mentions it with the Durghana mentioned above It was used to break heavy stones and rocks Śankarācārya compares knowledge to a Mudagara which breaks *Moha* or delusion, in a short poem entitled *Mohamudgara* It is sometimes used in the sense of a club to break down clods of earth This is again a movable machine according to Kautalya

The Sīra[83] is translated as a ploughshare by Dr Oppert It was a bucket-like instrument curved on both sides and with a wide opening made of iron It was as long as a man's height

The Musala[84] is a weapon of Balarāma It was a pestle-like club, both ends well knit together It was a pointed rod made of khadira It belongs to the category of Śūla or trident In the Rāma-Rāvana yuddha, the Rāksasas used Musalas of iron embellished with gold

The Pattiśa[85] is a kind of spear with a keen edge made of copper or iron Dr Oppert translates it as a battle-axe This does not seem to be correct, because the same weapon is mentioned in the previous list There was a hand-guard in the handle It had two keen blades of iron and measured the height of a man Mention is also made of it both in the *Śukranītī* and the *Agni Purāna* Kautalya speaks of it as a razor like weapon

The Maustika,[86] or fist-sword, may be a sharp knife perhaps used in boxing encounters It had a strong

83 *Ibid*, V 37

84 *Ibid*, 38

85 *Ibid*, 39, *Sukra*, 4, 7, 212, *Agni Purāna*, 252 16

86 *Nīti*, V 40-44, *Śukra*, 4, 7, 213

handle and was capable of making all sorts of movements It had a sharp end in the shape of a navel and was radiant as the moon

The Parigha[87] was a wooden beam used for locking or shutting a gate, and was a battering ram According to Vaiśampāyana it was made of wood and circular in shape It was so heavy that a whole army of soldiers would be required to handle it

The Mayūkhi,[88] or a staff with a hilt, had the height of a man and was furnished with small bells A shield was also provided for it

The Śataghni,[89] literally means that which had the power of killing a hundred at a time It looked like a Gadā and is said to be four cubits in length It had a strong handle, and also possessed a number of iron spikes in it It is generally identified with the modern cannon and hence was a projectile weapon of war Mallinātha quotes from Keśava in his commentary on the word occurring in the verse 95 of Chapter 12 of the *Raghuvamśa*

> śataghni tu catustāla lohakantaka samcitā yastih'
> iti Keśavah

It was generally placed on the walls of a fort and is included among the movable machines by Kautalya These and other weapons are frequently mentioned as employed actually in the wars of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* Thus both the *mukta* and *amukta* weapons are 32 in number, all made according to tradition from the bones of the sage Dadhīci as explained in the *Mahā-*

87 *Raghu*, 16 84, *Nīti* V 45

88 *Nīti*, V, 46-47

89 *Ibid*, 48-49, *Raghu*, 12 95, *Ar Śās*, (Trn) 101

bhārata They were made out of the bones of his body except the backbone, of which was formed the Vajra But in the Amukta category an important weapon of war, the Asi or the sword,[90] is not included Its omission is due, not to the lack of knowledge, for Vaiśampāyana has practically devoted a whole chapter to its description, but to the fact that it has been referred to elaborately enough in a previous chapter Vaiśampāyana thought it unnecessary to repeat it here Or it may be that it was such a useful celestial weapon that it had to be treated separately and not along with the ordinary weapons that are given in the list The Asi[91] is also known in Sanskrit literature by different other names—Nistrimśa, Visamana, Khadga, Tīksnadhāra, Durāsada, Śrīgarbha, Vijaya, and Dharmamūla, meaning respectively cruel, fearful, powerful, fiery, unassailable, affording wealth, giving victory, and the source of maintaining dharma And these are generally the characteristics of a sword It was commonly worn on the left side and was associated with thirty-two different movements It measured fifty thumbs in length and four inches in width

It is of particular interest to read the legendary origin of the sword Nakula, the best swordsman of his day, asked Bhīsma on his death-bed how it came into being The following is the substance of what Bhīsma said in reply[92] Brahmā created all creatures and also

90 *Nīti*, III

91 For the practical uses of the weapon see *Laksana Prakāśa*, p 293

92 Śānti and Āpad Parva 166 Compare this account with that given in the *Visnudharmottara*

the Vedas But the Asuras never paid heed to these and often had recourse to evil ways The people could no more bear their misdeeds and prayed to Brahmā for help Then he made a great sacrifice. Out came from the sacrificial fire an ugly creature at which the whole world trembled It soon changed into a sword lustrous and sharp-edged It was given to Rudra who single-handed cut and pierced a mighty host of the Asuras. After this Rudra gave this weapon to Visnu, who in his turn presented it to Marīci, from whom it successively came into the hands of Vasava, the Lokapālas, Manu, his son Iksvāku, and Purūruvas Then it changed several hands such as Nahusa, Yayāti, Bharata, Raghu, Bharadvāja, Drona, Krpa, and from this last to the Pāndavas It had for its star the Krttikā Naksatra Its presiding deity was Agni, the god of fire It belonged to the Rohinī community and its first preceptor was Rudra himself Hence all soldiers were to worship this weapon of weapons

The Purānic literature knows of different varieties of swords [93] Those which were manufactured in Khati and Khattara were famous for their lustre, those of Kaiśika for power in felling, of Sūrpāraka for durability, and of Vanga and Anga for sharpness The best swords were those which measured fifty fingers in length The rest were inferior The inferior ones must not be used The test of a good sword was that it must not only be sufficiently long but when used in any way must produce a ringing sound The sword that had an end like the edge of a lotus was an auspicious one The sword was

93 *Agni Purāna,* 245 22-27 The *Laksana Prakāsa* gives extracts on this subject from two works, Lohārnava and Khadgakośa pp 295-97

generally worn on the left side hanging from the belt, the scabbard being held in the left hand The use of it consisted in rending, cutting, lopping, and striking the enemy The *Sukranīti* speaks of it as four hastas in measurement and of keen edge A sword was valuable for the acquisition of wealth, kingdom, fame and the destruction of the enemy A sword was to be made of iron and was of the colour of the cuckoo's neck. Its blade should be like the petal of a lotus It should be deep inside, bulging in the middle, with keen edges and with no blot of any kind, natural symbols were also said to be visible on it from which its value could be determined So whenever kings used it they should get it previously examined as to its qualities [94]

There is a different kind of measurement given in the texts The best sword measured fifty inches, a middling one forty inches, and the least good thirty-six inches [95] Those which were cracked, basket-like, and of broken edges, perforated, devoid of handle, and crooked were not fit for practical use Those in which the Linga, Garuda, swan, and other auspicious and artistic images could be seen were good They were usually made of Pandrara iron found in the Jāngala country, black iron in the Anūpa, white iron in the Śataharana, gold-coloured iron in the Kalinga, oily iron in the Kambhoja, blue-coloured iron in Gujarat, grey-coloured in the Mahārāstra, and reddish white in the Karnātaka [96] More

94 *Agni Purāna*, 251 7 8, and 252, Cp *Sukra*, 4 7 214

95 The sword of fifty inches is named, according to *Devīpurāna*, Triśikha (see *Laksana Prakāśa*, p 299) See also Varāhasamhitā for more details, *Ibid*, pp 299 ff, Loharatnākara, *ibid*, pp 305 ff

96 *Sārngadhara*, 4621, 26, 38, 44, 52-60 and 4689 *Śiva T R* 5—9th sarga

details are seen in the same *taranga* According to Kautalya again, Nistrimśa, Madantagara, and Asiyasti are swords and their handles were made of horn, tusk, or wood It is interesting to examine in this light the several swords of Arjuna, such as the long sword with the bee mark, a big sword finished with good blade and a sheath of tiger skin one with a golden hilt cased in cow-skin, a gold sword manufactured by the Nisādhas and cased in goat-skin, an iron sword with gold points, all without any stain or knot in them [97]

SECTION V

MINOR AND MYSTICAL WEAPONS OF WARFARE

Any detailed examination of the other species of weapons would unduly swell this volume, we therefore confine ourselves to a categorical enumeration of the list as given in the Nītiprakāśikā There are two classes of the Muktāmukta division—Sopasamhāra (throwing-out) and Upasamhāra (withdrawing) There are forty-three varieties of Sopasamhāra: Daṇdacakra (a disc),[98] Dharmacakra (a disc for maintenance of righteousness), Kālacakra (a disc of death), Aindracakra (a disc attributed to Indra), Śūlavata (a trident attributed to Śiva), Brahmaśīrsa (a missile assigned to Brahmā), Modakī (a bewitching missile), Śikharī (a pointed missile to cut off the head), Dharmapāśa (a noose for maintenance of righteousness), Varunapāśa (a noose attributed to Varuna), Pinākāstra (a bow attributed to Śiva), Vāyavya (a missile of Vāyu), Śuska (a missile to dry

97 *Mhb*, Virāt Parva, 42 21

98 II 22-27

up), Ārdra (a missile for drenching), Śikharāstra (a missile emitting flame), Krauñcāstra (a heron-like missile), Hayaśīrasa (a missile in the form of a horse), Vidyāstra (a missile of incantation), Avidyāstra (a missile of illusory powers), Gāndharvāstra (a missile attributed to Visnu), Nandanāstra Varsanam (a shower producing missile), Śosanam (a missile attributed to God of Love), Prasvāpana (a missile causing deep sleep), Praśamana (a soothing missile), Santāpana (a death-giving missile), Vilāpana (a noisy missile), Madana (a trust-giving missile), Mānavāstra (a missile peculiar to Manu), Nāmana (a missile of air-force), Tāmasa (a missile engendering darkness), Samvarta (a missile throwing a screen or a veil), Mausala (a club-shaped missile), Satya (a celestial missile), Saura (a missile attributed to the Sun God), Māyāstra (an illusory missile), Tvāstra (a missile peculiar to Viśvakarma), Somāstra (a missile peculiar to the Moon), Samhāra (a missile causing impediments), Mānasa (a missile attributed to Visnu), Nāgāstra (a serpent-shaped missile), Gārudāstra (an eagle-shaped missile), and Śaivesīka (a missile of stone)

The second class of this Muktāmukta division, *i e* Upasamhāra, contains a list of fifty-three different weapons [99] These are Satyavān (perhaps a missile that would act according to one's wish), Satyakīrti (a missile probably famous in the Satyaloka), Rabhasa (a missile of violent quickness), Drsta (a missile shaped like the shaft of a carriage), Pratihāratara (a missile for preventing an attack), Avāngmukha (a missile with its face turned downwards), Parāngmukha (one with the

99 II 28 35

shape of a leaf or a tree), Dṛthanābha (a navel-shaped missile), Alakṣya (a missile discharged with no aim), Lakṣya (one discharged with some aim), Āvila (one in the shape of an ewe), Sunābhaka (one with a strong focus at the centre), Daśākṣa (one with ten cavities or openings), Śatavaktra (one with a hundred mouths), Daśaśīrsa (one with ten-headed missile), Śatodara (one with hundred cavities), Dharmanābha (a navel-shaped missile for maintaining righteousness), Mahānābha (one having a big central point), Dundhunābha (one with the central point like a drum), Nābhaka (one like the nave of a wheel), Jyotisa (a lustrous missile), Vimalakula (a pure missile), Nairāsya (one engendering discouragement at the outset), Kṛśana (a small missile), Yogandhara (one of superhuman powers), Sanidra (one attributed to Indra), Daitya (one peculiar to the Asuras), Pramathana (a slaughtering missile), Sārcirmālī (one in the shape of a garland), Dhṛtirmālī (that could be seized or laid hold of), Vṛttimān (one that would move and turn), Rucira (a restorative missile), Pitrya (one in shape like the constellation Magha), Saumanasa (a floral missile), Vidhūta (an unsteady missile), Makara (one in the shape of the crocodile), Karavīra (a sword or scimitar), Dhanaratī (one giving wealth), Dhānya (one affording grains), Kāmarūpaka (one that takes a shape at will), Jṛmbhaka (a wide-mouthed missile), Āvarana (one serving as a protection), Moha (one producing spell), Kāmaruci (one acting to one's wish), Vāruna (one attributed to Varuna), Sarvadamana (the all-subduing one), Sandhāna (a well-aimed missile), Sarvanābhaka (one like a serpent), Kankālāstra (one with heron's feathers), Mausalāstra (a pestle-like missile), Kāpālāstra

(a skull-like missile), Kankana (one resembling the bracelet) and Paiśācāstra (a devilish missile) [100]

This is a literal translation of the names which occur in the texts To the list here given, Vaiśampāyana adds six more weapons which could be used only with the application of mantras—the Visnucakra, the Vajra, (the thunderbolt), the Brahmāstra (attributed to Brahmā), the Kālapāśaka (the noose of Yama), the Nārāyanāstra (attributed to Nārāyana), and the Pāśupatāstra (attributed to Śiva)

Viśvāmitra,[101] to whom the *Dhanurveda* is attributed seems to have had a working knowledge of most of these weapons Besides those mentioned above, Viśvāmitra adds the Tejahprabha (lustrous), the Śiśira (frigid), the Kinkini (Kankana) (with tinkling sound), and the Dāruna of Bhaga (a terror-striking missile) In the second class of Upasamhāra again Viśvāmitra adds Śucirbāhu, Mahābāhu, Niskuli, and Viruci, having respectively the characteristics of a good hand, a long hand, a niska, an ornament and fire

Among the thirty-two Mukta and Amukta weapons, Kaltalya, as we have seen, mentions the Śakti, Prāsa, Kunta, Bhindipāla, Tomara, bows and arrows, Paraśu, Pattiśa, Cakra, Mudgara, Gadā, and Śataghnī The other nineteen are not mentioned But he gives different kinds of weapons, the Hātaka, the Śūla, the Varāhakarna (another form of Prāsa), the Kanaya (a metallic rod), the Karpana (an arrow that can go one hundred hastas in length), the Trāsika (a rod with three edges), the Kuthāra (a small one with one edge), the Khanitra (a spade), the Kuddāla and the Kāndacchedana, the

100 II 28-35

101 *Rāmāyana*, Bālakānda, Chh 27 and 28

Yantrapāsāna (stones thrown by machines), the Gospanāpāsāna (stones thrown by rod), the Muṣṭipāsāna, the Rocani, and stones, besides 27 kinds of movable and immovable machines Apparently the other weapons mentioned in the *Nītiprakāśikā* had gone out of use by the time of Kautalya [102]

The Arthaśāstra again mentions twenty-seven machines of which only five—the Musala, the Mudgara, the Cakra, the Gadā and the Śataghnī—are referred to by Vaiśampāyana Another important fact that we gather is that in the time of Kautalya the forts must have become indispensable sources of defence, military architecture being highly developed The ten immovable machines mentioned by Kautalya are not found in the early literature, from which it can be safely inferred that fortifications had not developed to any great extent in the days of the *Nītiprakāśikā* The immovable machines, according to the author of the *Arthaśāstra*,[103] are Sarvatobhadra (a small cart capable of hurling stones on all sides), Jāmadagnya (a large machine to shoot arrows), Bahumukha (one with archers), Viśvāsaghāti (a cross beam at the gateway so placed as to make it fall when the enemy enters), Sanghāti (a long pole to set fire to the fort), Yānaka (a rod mounted on a wheel to be hurled against enemies), Parjanyaka (a water-machine to put out fire), Bāhu (two pillars placed opposite each other to be pulled down when enemies enter) and Ardhabāhu (a pillar measuring half of the above) Again, the following movable machines are given Pāñcālika (a wooden beam with sharp points

102 *Ar Sās*, Bk II 18

103 *Ibid*

outside the fort wall), Devadanda (a pole with nails), Sūkārika (a leather wall to protect the roads, towns, etc against stones thrown by enemies), Yasti (a pointed rod of khadira), Hastivāraka (a rod with two or three points to prevent elephants from resting on), Tālavrnta (a form like that of disc), Sprktalā (a rod with sharp points on its surface), Kuddāla (a spade), Sphātima (a leather bag with a rod), Audaghātima (a machine to pull down towers, etc) and Triśūla (a trident) There is ample testimony to indicate that some of the machines were employed in actual operations the missile Tastra was used by the son of king Śatrujit against Pātālaketu and other demon warriors[104] In the battle between Śālva Rāja and Bhīsma both Vāruna and Aindra weapons were used[105] Again, Arjuna used the Vāyavya weapon in his encounter with the Nāgas, and it had the power of staying thunder, lightning, winds, and several other forces[106] He also used Salila and Śaila weapons to ward off illusions of fire and wind from the Nivāta-kavacas[107] Drona used the Aindra, Vāyavya and Āgneya astras during the Great War,[108] while his son employed Nārāyanāstra in another encounter[109] The other weapons used by Arjuna are the Nāga missile, the Saupada, the Indrajāla, Sthūlakarna, the Pāśupata, and the Bhārgava[110] Arjuna also used the Māhendra mentioned as a

104 *Mārkandeya*, 20

105 *Mhb*, Ādi Parva, 109 49 51

106 *Ibid*, 129

107 *Mhb*, Vana Parva, 173 10

108 *Ibid*, Virāt Parva 60 75

109 *Ibid*, Drona Parva 200 17

110 See Sorensen's *Index to the Mahābhārata* under article Arjuna

fire-arm in the great epic literature Rāma employed, besides the above, the Brahmadatta bāna[111] In the engagement between Lakṣmana and Atikāya, the latter used the Rudra and the Nārāyana missiles, while the former used the Brahmaśiras[112] In the battle between Angada and the Rākṣasa Kampana, several missiles, like the Ksuras, Ksurapras, Vatsadanta, Śilīmukhas, Karnisalyas, and Vipāthas are found used[113]

Lastly, the Jimbha missile is mentioned in the *Uttararāmacarita*

That the use of fortresses became more and more important is well seen from the latest publication of King Bhoja's *Samarānganasūtradhara*, which is assigned to the 11th century A D In it are mentioned the door-keeper machine and the warrior machine at the gateway to prevent undesirables from entering the city Then there were other kinds of machines with arrows and other weapons for the protection of the fort, besides the water machines for letting down water in torrents and the one for catching elephants, etc Thus most of the machines refer to siege warfare in general, a sign that the use of fortresses was very common[114] Here again the sword, the Prāsa, the Kunta, the Śataghnī, are mentioned

From these it appears that the skilled work of military engineering, such as road-making, bridge-making, and digging of tanks and that of sappers and miners, was well known

111 *Yuddha* 111 4
112 *Ibid*, 71 67 110
113 *Ibid*, 76 6
114 *Samarāng* Ch 31, 106-16

There are also some references to weapons of war in the Buddhist and Jain works We meet with the maker of an arrow in the Jātakas (Bk XXII No 539) In the same work there is a reference to poisoned arrows (Bk I No 55) Here mention is made of a Prince Five Weapons According to the Jātakas, the weapons of war are five in number They are the sword, spear, bow, shield and axe (Bk VIII No 423) In the Jain works also we are told of two weapons which do not find mention in other literature In the famous work *Uvāsagadasāo* there is the story of the war between Kūnīya (Ajātaśatru) and his uncle Chedaga This story is historical In it two engines of war were put into use One was a mahāśilākuntaka and the other rathamusala The Prakrit text of the Bhagavati (Benares ed pp 500-1) describes these two engines From this description it seems that the first weapon was of the nature of a catapult which threw big stones on the enemy The second was a sort of clubbed chariot Perhaps it resembled the scythed chariot of the ancient Persians The peculiarity of the rathamusala was that this chariot moved on without horses and with no driver It is therefore reasonable to suppose that this weapon of war should have been provided with some contrivance to propel it We are not however in a position to show the nature of this contrivance (Uvāsagadasāo—trn by A F R Hoernle, (Calcutta, 1888) Vol II Appendix pp 59-60) The same story is told in one of the tales in the Kathākośa which are illustrative of the tenets and practice of Jainism (See C H Tawney—Kathākośa, p 179 Oriental Translation Fund, London 1895 See also H C Raychaudhuri Political History of Ancient India IV ed Calcutta, pp 172-3)

SECTION VI

ON ARMOUR

The questions relating to the kind of armour and the mode of wearing them are indeed of lively interest and have a direct bearing on the arms used We know that even in the days of the Rg Veda the equipment of the soldier consisted of a coat of mail, helmet, and even an arm-guard

Varuna is mentioned as wearing a golden mail with lustrous appearance and as surrounded by spies [115] That several varieties of armour were made of horns, skins, and also of iron, is evident from the *Arthaśāstra* literature The animals whose horns were used for this were tortoise, rhinoceros, bison, elephant, and cow

The four important varieties of armour, all of iron according to the commentator of the *Arthaśāstra,* were in the first place a coat of mail to cover the body from head to foot including the two hands, secondly, a coat of mail of two separate plates covering the head, hump, and arms respectively, and thirdly, a kind of armour to be worn as a loin-cloth [116]

Other varieties of armour used merely for protecting the body were Śirastrāna or protection for the head, Kanthatrāna or protection for the neck, Kūrpāsa or a covering for the trunk, Kañcuka or a jacket up to the knee joints, Vāravāna or a jacket extending to the heels, Patta or an upper garment, and Nāgodarika or gloves to protect the fingers Some of the instruments used to shield one's hands in engagements were Petī (a kind of

115 *Rg Veda,* I 25 13

116 *Ar Śās,* Bk II 18 (Commentary by Ganapati Sastri)

shield made of creepers of Kāsta), Carma, Hastikarna (made of leather, perhaps to protect the palm of the hand), Tālamūla (another variety of shield made of wood perhaps palmyra), Dhamanikā (a shield made of reed), Kavāta (a shield resembling the panel of a door), Kitikā (a protection made of hide or bamboo), Apratihata (perhaps a shield used in elephant fights) and Valāhakānta (one of leather or bamboo like the Apratihata but surrounded by iron fringes) The war elephants as well as the war horses were also provided with trappings and ornaments to shield them from the attacks of the enemy's forces The Śukranīti speaks of a coat of mail for the body and the trunk as well as for fingers For the former, big leaves resembling wheat leaves, made of iron, were considered best, whilst for the latter iron nails with sharp edges were deemed the best [117] The skins, horns, and iron were used abundantly for the making of shields and the coats of mail and this is obvious from the sculptures which we shall presently examine But the author of Śukranīti mentions the use of leather armour for war animals [118]

It is needless to mention that there is a close link between the *Arthaśāstra* literature and the epic and Purānic literature The Asuras or the demon warriors put on armour made of the skins of elephants, antelopes, and barks of some trees [119] It is said that during the fight between the king of Virāta and Susarma, all the soldiers put on their respective coats of mail Virāta's brother Śatānīka wore one of adamant, and ornamented

117 *Ibid*

118 *Śukra*, 4 7 216-17

119 *Harivam*, 31

with gold, whilst his eldest son Sankarsana had a coat of well-tempered iron [120] Again, the great warrior Krpa's mail armour was of tiger-skin [121] In the *Mahābhārata* war, all had finger-guards and put on coats of mail made of the skin of the antelopes and other animals [122] And Duryodhana had a helmet formidable to look at [123] The soldiers had also bracelets made of bull's hide [124] Jayadratha, the great king and warrior, wore a plate of gold which was broken into two pieces by Saubhadra's sword [125] When Bharata came to meet his brother Rāma, Guha, the lord of the Nisādhas took him for an enemy and asked his followers to be ready for an attack with their mail accoutrements [126]

It would be interesting to close this section with the remark that with the progress in metal culture and advance in civilisation, effective methods of warfare were also developed If we go far back in time, we find that the primitive tribes used weapons made of stone and wood We find in the *Rāmāyana* that the monkey tribes, which may be considered one of the most ancient tribes in India, used trees and stones as implements The civilized man just emanating from the life of a hunter used bows and arrows in war Stones and stone weapons were in use continuously for thousands of years Then bronze came into large use, and gave an advantage in warfare to

120 Virāt Parva, ch 33

121 *Ibid*, 54

122 Bhīsma Parva chh 16 & 18

123 *Ibid*, 64

124 *Ibid*, 88

125 Drona Parva, 43 17

126 *Rām* Ayodhyā, ch 84

those tribes who first obtained it[127] In the Chalcolithic period as borne out by the numerous archaeological finds in the Indus valley, and much earlier, as is seen in the epoch of the Rg Vedic Samhitā, copper and bronze had come to supersede stone Though there was a large use of bronze for purposes of making implements of war, stone weapons continued to be used

The epoch which followed the Chalcolithic period of India's history witnessed the introduction of iron This was the age of the Yajur Veda Samhitā where distinct mention is made of the use of iron and iron weapons Arms and armour of this metal now came to be used, for, it was found more valuable than even bronze Gold and silver were also pressed into service because of their plastic and ornamental possibilities These metals came to be used for the making of arrows as well as for shields and other effective weapons of defence This state practically continued to flourish until the days of Alexander the Great and of Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleukos For the Fragments of Megasthenes testify to their use in abundance Javelins made of simple bamboo and sago palm quite innocent of iron, remnants of which still linger among some of the hill tribes of India, have been superseded by iron swords and the throwing spear These swords were straight in shape and two-handed, in use at the time of Alexander's invasion of India and popular later in the Malay Archipelago, as evident from bas-reliefs of Angkor-Wat in Cambodia

127 H G Wells *The Outline of History,* pp 109-110

SECTION VII

ARMS AND ARMOUR FROM SCULPTURE

It is nearly forty years since Baden Powell wrote as follows in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* (Vol I) "It will be interesting when, some day, some antiquarian[128] is found to reproduce the various ancient forms or weapons as they appear in the sculpture" Here an humble endeavour is made to study as far as possible some of the interesting sculptures relating to ancient arms and armour which disclose many peculiarities of ancient warfare and thus possess great historical value Much spade work has been done here by Edgerton and Birdwood whose observations are found in their respective publications, *The Illustrated Arms of India* and *The Industrial Arts of India,* and also by B Bhattacharyya and Gopinatha Rao, so far as iconography is concerned There are also other interesting works like those of Burgess, Cunningham, Havell, Fergusson, and Smith, most of which have also been laid under contribution

128 There is not yet a single publication in India on the lines of Prof A Parmentier's 'Album Historique' published in four volumes under the direction of Ernest Louisse of the French Academy (Librarié Armand Colin, Paris, 1905) It is a study of the habits and customs, of arts and sciences, of weapons and ornaments, and of institutions of the age from the 4th to the 19th century A D For our purpose the attention of the reader can be directed to soldiers and cavalry warriors of Gaul clad in military attire on p 2 of Volume I and of their different arms (Vol I, pp 4-5), and of the French military costume and implements (Vol I, pp 91 and 99), of the mediaeval customs of the 7th to the 15th century A D (p 137) and of the battle scenes of England (pp 172-73, see also pp 196 ff) This helps the comparative student of military history of the East to study Western institutions

A careful study of the various types of sculptures found in various parts of India from far-off Gāndhāra to South Indian temples, is invaluable to a student of Hindu military History Cunningham[129] says With regard to the use of sculptures, although no certain examples now remain of an earlier date than the time of Aśoka, yet I can point to the statement of Curtis that an image of Hercules was carried in front of the army of Porus as he advanced against Alexander This worship of Hercules is also mentioned by Strabo on the authority of Megasthenes as prevailing in the plain country while the people of the hill worshipped Bacchus But from the post-Aśokan period we find a rich and wonderful development of this great art It may be that during the comparatively brief interval of peace in Aśoka's reign, the manufacturers of weapon and other war-arms as well as the artisans took to this important work, much of it being absorbed by the State The devout followers of Buddhism took great interest in getting the various Buddhist shrines ornamented and painted The result was good and striking reliefs in the place of frescoes 'These circumstances explain', says E B Havell, 'the peculiar characteristics of the Bhārhut, Sānchī and Amarāvatī sculptures'[130]

Among the earliest sculptures known so far are those at Bhārhut[131] Here in the stūpa are found boats, chariots drawn by horses, carriages drawn by bullocks,

129 *Coins of Ancient India* (Preface)

130 *Indian Sculpture and Painting* p 92

131 V A Smith *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p 30

many musical instruments, and flags Here again we notice the old Indian broadsword as described by Megasthenes 'All wear swords of vast breadth, though scarce exceeding three cubits in length When they engage in close fight they grasp these with both their hands so that the blow may be the stronger'

Another interesting feature is a procession of maskers and soldiers The men are of the Himalayan region, wearing dress and armour apparently made of leather used in that region in the time of Kaniska about 100 A.D The arrangement of the scales of the armour with the curved ends uppermost, bears resemblance to similar discoveries by Stein in Khotan[132] We owe much to Cunningham and Fergusson for a critical study of the sculptures of Sānchi and other places There is a vivid representation of the operations of a siege in one of the reliefs[133] The equipment of the soldiers is a tight-fitting dress and quilt All have their swords hung on their left side Apparently the swords are short, but very broad, bows and arrows are invariably found in the hands of the foot-soldiers There are eleven topes in Sānchī, and proceeding further we see that every pillar in every tope has some historical incident or other that is full of interest to us Sieges and triumphal processions may be said to be a regular feature of the whole

The most striking is the remarkable study of a besieged city in Tope No 1 Soldiers attacking the enemy down with arrows and huge stones below are found on the gateway and also on the great towers Here

132 M Aurel Stein *Ancient Khotan*, Vol I, p 252

133 Edgerton *Indian and Oriental Armour*

we find no swords of any description[134] But that they were none the less used by the warriors is obvious from the fact that several of them have long shields On the left side are seen two men carrying ensigns, a number of elephants with riders, and also one man riding on a horse We also notice distinctly enough the quiver which is fastened to the right shoulder, and also the fastenings, which are apparently leather straps, are passed over the shoulders, crossed in front, and carried to the back The dress is a kilt and also a jacket of some kind According to Cunningham their dress on the whole resembles that of the Scottish Highlanders Their principal weapon used in this siege-fight seems to be the arrow 'Their (Mauryan) arrows are little less than three cubits long and fly with such force that neither shield nor breast-plate nor any armour is strong enough to withstand them' But in the bas-relief some arrows seem to be even four or five feet long It is also seen that some warriors have darts in the place of arrows

An idea of the different kinds and shapes of weapons used in the first century A D may be obtained by an examination of Plate xxxiii[135] relating to Sānchī sculptures in general Here are found swords, shields,[136] two kinds of axes, trident, javelins, Vajra, dagger, elephant-goad, bells, flags, fly-whisk, two or three kinds of drums, umbrellas, etc Comparing them with those of Udayagiri (A D 401) we may conclude that there are material

134 Cunningham *The Bhilsa Topes*, ch XIV

135 Op Cit *The Bhilsa Topes* (the last plate in the book)

136 In the Rock paintings of the Mahadeo Hills we meet with warriors with sword and shield (Indian Art and Letters X pp 35-41, plates VIII and IX)

differences between the weapons used then and here especially with regard to swords and the Vajra

From this it can be inferred that there has been a slow but sure evolution in the form and make of weapons with the march of time In the art of war it was not one of stagnation but real progress, again, in the same Plate we study two kinds of shields, one smaller than the other The latter are worn by foot soldiers, and the former by horsemen

At Sānchī, again, there is a representation of the War of Relics[137] Here it is remarked that the Lichchavis, the Śākyas, the Balis, the Kolyas, the Mallas of Pāva and a Brahman advance against Kusinara to recapture the relics of Buddha from the Mallas of Kusinara In the middle of the Plate the siege of the town, and to the left the departure of the victors are illustrated

On a pillar in the Amarāvati tope, decidedly later than those of Sānchī, we notice a straight sword, long spears and long bows with horsemen and elephants But there are no chariots here This does not mean that the chariots had fallen into disuse More or less the same kind of swords, oblong shields, long bows are also noticed in the Hill Caves of Orissa, evidently before the fifth or sixth century A D[138] In the more ancient sculptures of the temples of Bhuvaneśvara we meet with processions of infantry, cavalry, and elephants They are heroic warriors elegantly sculptured A small dagger hangs from the waist belt of every one of them

137 See Ludwig Bachhofer *Early Indian Sculpture,* Vol I, plate 47

138 Hunter *Orissa,* I, p 235

In another frieze there is a little scene of war horses with heroes on them. Behind these are foot soldiers apparently in marching order equipped with bows and swords The bow is long and the sword is straight Further behind them follow the commissariat Lastly come other soldiers, with straight swords and oblong shields evidently made of hide On the other side is seen the army council where councillors are engaged in deep deliberation We also see an order of priests doing the necessary ceremonials to bless them with victory

Let us now turn to the temple at Kanarak, of which there is an excellent plate (Plate XLIII)[139] in Havell's book Outside the southern façade are represented two huge horses apparently guarding the gate, the one intact and the other in ruins This is a war-horse with a Roman nose and prominent eyes He is very richly caparisoned with bosses and bands round the face, heavy chain-armour on the neck, tasselled necklaces, jewelled bracelets on all four legs and a tasselled breast-band which keeps the saddle in position There is also a sheath capable of holding a small dagger and a quiver with tethered arrows The horse is trampling under his foot two soldiers who wear short and curved swords They have not the necessary equipment for defence But there are seen circular shields besides a number of musical instruments, apparently resembling modern ones, such as cymbals the small drum, the guitar, etc These seem to belong to the middle ages. It is interesting to read Havell's remarks on this scene ' Here Indian sculptors have shown that

139 Havell *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p 147

they can express with as much fire and passion as the greatest European art the pride of victory and the glory of triumphant warfare for not even the Homeric grandeur of the Elgin marbles surpasses the magnificent movement and modelling of this Indian Achilles and the monumental war-horse in its massive strength and vigour is not unworthy of comparison with Verachio's famous masterpiece at Venice '

We have in Kanarak, again, a war horse led by a warrior and trampling an Asura, though it is assigned to the 13th century A D [140] Others worth mentioning are an elephant lifting an Asura and a gryphon trampling and goring Asuras [141]

Further, we have a number of tableaux on the upper verandah of the Queen's monastery [142] Hunter is of opinion that it may be dated 200 B C Here is splendidly represented a battle between a prince and a princess The princess is defeated and is carried away forcibly We find only the shield and not the sword in her hand Apparently the latter was lost in the conflict The sword of the prince is unsheathed Again, in the Ganesh cave high up the hill, there is another series of tableaux giving the same story with slight variations When the prince is running with her on an elephant he is pursued by a number of soldiers The use of the bow by a number of soldiers is seen in the hunting scene In these sculptures we have the representation of a woman-warrior wearing a sword and a shield and capable of resisting a trained prince These cases of women fighting

140 See Coomaraswami *Viśvakarma,* 1914, Pl LXXVI

141 *Ibid*, LXXVII and LXXIX

142 Hunter *Orissa,* I

in the field are indeed very rare and hence remarkable

THE AJANTA CAVES

No study of Indian art would be complete without some reference at least to the Ajanta Cave paintings [143] The weapons in these are without any exception very primitive ones In Plates vii and xxvi are seen representations of a curved dagger held point upwards and perhaps in the left hand so as to leave the right hand free Plate viii probably refers to the return of a party from a hunt The scimitar is placed on the right shoulder But there is no scabbard Then we see a peculiar kind of shield which looks as if it were a segment of a wheel with the spokes left out It may be the round kind of shield with grotesque forms of tufts or tassels round the fringes thrown over behind the shoulder with straps and buckles There is also a quiver for holding arrows which is slung on the back of a foot-soldier, marching with a horse-rider But curiously no bows are seen

In Plate xix are noticed long lances with diamond-shaped blades and streamers flying from them in the air In Plates xxi and xxxviii are found spears In the former, apparently an elephant-catching scene, is a curious kind of spear sharpened at the edge, about eight feet long and furnished with three rings at the top The blade is almost one foot long The latter seems to illustrate the scenes from the Viśvatantra Jātaka Here the soldier wears a sharp thrusting spear with heavy knobs cleanly represented beside the horses In Plate xxiii is a highly ornamented sword with a strong hilt and also a cross-bar There are ornamented knobs along the

143 *The Ajanta Frescoes*—India Society

scabbard In Plate xxvii is a short dagger worn at the waist used by hill tribes in West India even to-day A short but stout club is carried on the right shoulder, used as a weapon of war in early days Besides there is the ordinary simple type of bow with one piece Plates xxiv and xxxvii are vivid representations of chariots In the former are seen ladies also seated It appears to be the one on which the king accompanied the army on its onward march to battle The decorated paintings leave nothing to be desired The battle-axes with long handles and about four feet in length each, are seen worn on the right shoulder in Plate xxxvi The Bodhisattva himself is given a kukri, a survival of the ancient sword with a sharp concave edge used by the Gurkhas of to-day

Plates xvii and lvii afford deep interest The *motif* in both seems to be the same and indicate the battle scene of Vijaya's conquest of Ceylon with war-elephants, horses, and archers all carried in curricles Two of these curricles carry eight or nine mounted horses and two or three war elephants The Plates are indicative of the picturesque appearance of an army on the march Almost every variety of weapons can be found here The curricles are embellished with dragon-heads and the like The soldiers carry standards flying from the sharp ends of their lances Umbrellas and cāmaras or fly-whisks and instruments of martial music, which are a unique feature of ancient warfare, are also vividly represented Here two cakras or discs with sharp edges on the outside and a 'voided cross' in the centre are shown as evidently discharged and warded off by the enemy's lances Scimitars like the chopper or the bill, both straight and of the primitive kind, are common Shields both crescent

and oblong are seen, handsomely curved in the longer dimension apparently made of leather There are two bows of the classic double-curved variety Both square and round quivers are also noticed [144]

The dress of the soldiers, it appears, was made in two pieces, viz from the breast to the waist and again from the thigh to the soles. The chief musical instruments were the drum and the kettle-drum In the pictures the troops are crossing a broad river and from the bank the enemies attack them Possibly the soldiers attack from the water Both horses and elephants are provided with excellent ornamental trappings A bell is seen hanging from the elephant's back The war-horses have the prominent Roman nose, piercing eyes, and a gallant appearance The trappings resemble those of the present day The one peculiarity is that no stirrups are seen in any of the pictures The usual war accoutrements of the elephant and the elephant goad, like the modern one, are easily traced Plate lv shows two kinds of helmets pot-shaped ones, and skull caps, made of leather or iron richly ornamented Again in Cave x[145] there is a peculiar kind of buckler ornamented with various designs and motifs and triangular in shape The writer in the *Journal of Indian Art* remarks 'the langure de hoeuf or cross-hilted katar, which is supposed by some to be a peculiarly ancient weapon, nowhere appears' But a careful examination of Plate xxiii[146] seems clearly to indicate the existence of such a cross-hilted sword in the Ajanta paintings In Fig 25 (B)

144 *The Anjanta Frescoes*—India Society

145 *Journal of Indian Art* Vol VIII

146 *Ajanta Frescoes*

of the *Journal* the Vajra or thunderbolt is also shown [147] The Ajanta paintings, now somewhat mutilated, may represent the embassy of the Persian King to the Chalukyan Pulakeśin in the beginning of the 7th century A D Here we notice three foreigners making valuable presents to the Indian king This is an unmistakable reference to the friendly relations that existed between the two States [148]

THE GĀNDHĀRA SCULPTURES

The Gāndhāra sculptures may next be examined Burgess identifies a figure holding Vajra or the thunderbolt, its form not apparently primitive, with that of Mārā the tempter Others identify it with Vajrapāni, the Bodhisattva, and Indra There is, again, a figure in the Lahore Museum representing two soldiers, of which there is a Plate in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* [149] Both are meagrely draped They wear only loin-cloths The knees and feet are left uncovered In the one we notice a belt round the waist, a sheath with a sword the hilt of which is held in the left hand On the back of the other soldier is seen a shield of almost oblong shape and also a sort of oval disc But the face of this one is much mutilated We noticed the part played by elephants in the Ajanta frescoes There is a

147 *Journal of Indian Art*, Vol VIII See also Yazdani *Ajanta* Pt I p 35

148 Smith *Oxford History of India*, p 165 According to G Yazdani, *Ajanta*, Part I, (Hyderabad, 1930) plate XXXVIII and the explanatory text, the foreigners in the scene may be the people of Turkistan and some other countries to the north west of India (p 46)

149 Vol VIII Plate 10 Fig 6 Burgess on the Gāndhāra Sculptures

figure in the Mokalji's temple,[150] at Chitore representing an elephant pitted against another—a story often mentioned in literature In the course of her observations on the Gāndhāra sculptures and early coins from Alexander's time, Mrs F H Andrews remarks 'It is in architectural, sculptural and mural decoration in India that the elephant is seen at its best'[151]

In South India there are numerous interesting and instructive sculptures, a systematic study of which would cover a large volume Here an attempt is made to examine only a few of them to illustrate the Pallava, Chola and Vijayanagar art Vivid representations of Pallava art are seen in Mahābalipuram (Chingleput District) There is fire and passion in the wonderful representation of Durgā slaying Mahisāsura[152] There is another relief exhibiting Arjuna's penance to get possession of the magic weapon by which any powerful enemy could be easily humbled The story is found in the *Mahābhārata*[153]

In the Chola period, there is also a wonderful representation of a battle between a general riding on an elephant and his adversary on horseback[154] This is on the Begur stone dated about A D 934-38, in the Mysore territory, now in the Bangalore Museum There is another bas-relief sculpture in the same Museum found in the Atakur stone dated about A D 949-50 representing a fight between a big hound and a mighty boar in which both are being killed by each other

150 Smith *A History of Fine Art*, p 127

151 *Journal of Indian Art*, Vol X

152 *Visvakarma* Pl XLV, Smith *Op Cit*, Pl 87

153 *The Indian Ant* a special number on Māmallapuram

154 Smith *A History of Fine Art*, p 134

A beautiful sculptural representation of Būtuga slaying the Chola Rājāditya by stabbing him with a dagger, short but with a broad and curved blade of fine steel,[155] is noticed in a plate in *Epigraphia Carnatica* copied in Pura in the Mandya Taluk and of the date Śaka 1339[156] Here one notices the high wavy sword with sharp points There is another kind of sword resembling a flexible hand, sometimes used as a belt apparently of leather The weapon in No 2 seems to be more rigid Nos 4 and 5 are copied from Varuna in the Mysore Taluk and are much earlier than the above, probably 960 A D Here the retainers are seen armed with cutlasses There in the Middle Ages was a peculiar practice in South India of erecting Vīragals or memorial stones Such memorial stones are even now found in great numbers in Southern India

Perhaps the most vivid and lively representations of Vijayanagar art are those in the two temples at Tādpatri, Anantapur District—the Rāmeśvaram temple dedicated to Śiva, and the Cintatrāya temple to Visnu On the northern side of the Rāmeśvaram temple on the banks of the Pinākinī river, the Gopura is left unfinished from the middle Here in the bas-relief on both sides of the two walls are seen demon soldiers, besides others wearing altogether different costumes About a hundred varieties of dress are noticed here In the other temple a furlong to the south, there is a remarkable representation of the whole story of the *Rāmāyana* and also certain portions of the *Bhāgavata* finely sculptured The reliefs are full of life and movement and exhibit fire and

155 *Ep Car*, III, No 41 (Mandya)

156 *Ibid*, Part i, p 34

passion throughout Except one or two figures the rest several hundreds, are beautiful and present a freshness all their own. Chariots, war-horses, elephants, soldiers in battle array, actual operations in the field, all these afford remarkable subjects for study

Such a variety of design and beauty is noticed in a bas-relief of scenes from the *Rāmāyana* representing the conquest of Ceylon and all the varied incidents of that Epic in the Hoysaleśvara temple, Halebid, and the Hazara Rāmasvāmi temple at Hampi[157] It is worth noting that weapons of war like the axe, the knife and the dagger, are seen depicted on the Vīragals of this period[158]

Dr Oppert refers to half a dozen temples in South India to prove the use of fire-arms in ancient India[159] The Palni temple in the Madura District contains on the outer portion in an ancient stone mantapa scenes of carved figures of soldiers carrying in their hands small fire-arms, apparently the small-sized guns mentioned in the *Śukranītisāra* Bells are seen hanging from the belts worn round the waists of the soldiers They wear slippers for their feet and a peculiar kind of cap on their heads Again in the Śārngapāni temple at Kumbakonam in the front gate[160] of the fifth story from the top is the figure of a king sitting in a chariot drawn by horses and surrounded by a number of soldiers Before this chariot march two sepoys with pistols in their hands In the Nūrrukkāl mantapam of the Conjeevaram temple is a

157 Smith Op Cit, Plates 84 and 91

158 *Ep Car*, III, p 34

159 Dr Oppert *Weapons, etc of the Hindus*

160 The gopuram, it may be noted, belongs to the 18th century

huge pillar on the north side of the mantapa Here there is a relief vividly representing a fight between two bodies of soldiers Mounted horsemen are also seen The foot-soldier is shown aiming his fire-arm against the enemy Such things are also noticed in the Tanjore temple and the temple at Perur, in the Coimbatore District In the latter there is an actual representation of a soldier loading a musket To this last Fergusson assigns the eighteenth century A D But Dr Oppert puts it very much earlier

From these sculptures in India it is interesting to turn to Java where the Indian tradition is copied wholesale The Borobudur (also Barabudur) sculptures illustrate Jātaka scenes They are ascribed roughly to the period 750—850 A D There is a striking relief series Pl I, fig 5,[160a] representing a battle in which two others are seen on each side, one wearing a curved sword in the right hand and a long shield, and the other a mace and a round shield resembling a wheel, all apparently made of iron The story of the *Rāmāyana* is also given, as in the Tādpatri temple from Rāma's going to the forest down to the killing of Rāvana There is also a wonderful sculpture of an ancient Hindu ship [161]

The series of monuments at Ankor Vat, in Cambodia, greatly resemble Indian temples and keep up Indian tradition The motifs in the various reliefs are stories and battle scenes as described in the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* [162] These are described in minute detail and

160a Vol I, Plate V (N J Krom and T Van Erp) See R C Majumdar Suvarnadvipa II pp 194-5

161 *Ibid*

162 Havell *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p 137 See also R C Majumdar· Kambuja-Deśa (1944)

with wonderful vigour Perhaps they follow the technicalities of the Amarāvatī sculptures Magic plays a prominent part in these reliefs Indrajit showing the magical head of Rāma to Sitā and slaying the Māyā Sītā before Rāma are life-like There are two figures of the head of Bhīmasena in Central Java. The heroic splendour and manly grace of the born fighter are wonderfully depicted Havell aptly remarks ' We recognise a young Alexander, a fighter who knows his own strength and revels in it All his desires and aims are human yet there is nothing low or brutal in his nature He is a great natural hero and war-lord fit to lead and command a noble free-born race To compare these with the head of the Buddha shows how far the artistic skill has advanced in Java and therefore in India This figure has a lovely appearance, the portrait type of all that is pure, spiritual and holy in Indian thought and religion '[163] Again, in Ankor Vat we find in a bas-relief straight two-handed iron swords worn by foot-soldiers Students conversant with Alexander's invasion of India know that these were in use in India in the fourth century B C We may add that this weapon was used as a sword of state by the kings of Siam It justifies Ruskin's words ' Whole eras of mighty history are summed and the patience of dead myriads are concentrated in the existence of a noble (national) art '

ICONOGRAPHY

In this connexion a word may be said about Indian Iconography which affords adequate material for the study of the forms and the uses of several weapons current in Ancient India and is therefore of great interest

163 *Ibid*, Plates 41 and 42

and significance A detailed study of the different images has been made by Gopinatha Rao and B Bhattacharyya We are concerned here only with the arms and armour worn and the symbols they stand for We may take some prominent images and examine them briefly

Though the several hymns in the Rg Veda bear eloquent testimony to the existence of image worship, it became highly popular only during the epoch of the Purānas Besides Skanda several other war-gods and goddesses waged wars against demons, Asuras and Rākṣasas In this category come Visnu, Sūrya, Ganeśa, Śiva, and several goddesses of whom Durgā is the most prominent Abbe Dubois[164] speaks of thirty-two gods to each of whom one weapon or another is peculiar Visnu is popularly addressed as Śankha-cakra-gadā-pāni, that is, having Śankha or conch, Cakra or disc, and Gadā or wooden mace in three of his four hands In another verse the Śārngi and the Nandakī (bow and sword) are also attributed to him By blowing the conch he strikes terror into the enemy The Cakra attributed to Visnu is of two different forms, as is seen in the sculptured images[165] The spokes of one are like the wheels of the ordinary car, while those of the other resemble the petals of a lotus The Cakra belongs to the category of a missile According to *Vāmanapurāna*[166] as well as the sculptured figure, the Cakra has lustrous and sharp edges The Gadā is the wooden mace or heavy staff with a tapering top and a stout bottom The Śāranga or the bow of Visnu has a single bend, three bends, and five

164 *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, p 689

165 Gopinatha Rao *Hindu Iconography*, Vol I Ayūdhapurusas

166 Ch 79

bends respectively, showing a perceptible evolution of the form of the weapon[167] Nandakī is the name of the sword attributed to Visnu Though the *Varāha-purāna*[168] gives an allegorical interpretation of it (*i e* that the conch stands for the destruction of avidyā, the sword for dispelling ignorance, the disc for the circles of time, the club for routing irreligious monarchs), yet the fact remains that such weapons were in common use in this land

Again, the conception of the sun-god in Indian mythology is of value to the student of ancient Indian military history The idea is that the sun-god wants to destroy darkness Therefore he dons a lustrous armour and with his two queens behind, starts marching in his swift flying chariot drawn by seven powerful steeds, Aruna (dawn) being his charioteer In front of the car march two soldiers, one with a sword and the other with a śūla or trident, a kind of spear with three keen edges The piercing rays of the sun are the shooting arrows Such a grand conception is well represented in stone in the Sun Temple at Kanarak, of which there are two excellent plates in the published work of Lord Ronaldshay[169] The first plate shows the sun-god with his accoutrements in a standing posture, while the second is a representation of the chariot with huge stone wheels all carved and ornamented Though sun temples are rarely found, the sun-god is still worshipped in India with great veneration as the deity capable of bestowing on mankind both health and wealth Thus the whole

167 Gopinatha Rao Op cit

168 See Vedānta Deśika's *Sodaśāyudhastotra* where the allegorical interpretations are developed

169 *A Birds-eye-view of India*, Plates 1 and 21

thing presents a life-like portrait of the military dress as well as the march against an enemy Śiva is represented in various aspects, as holder of the Pināka or the bow, of the Khatvānga or the heavy club, of the śūla or trident and as Mṛgadhara or wearer of a shield of antelope-skin There is in the Elephanta Caves a splendid fragment of a huge sculptured image of Śiva the destroyer[170] In the same way the elephant head of Ganeśa is a symbolical representation of victory Hence at the commencement of every undertaking the orthodox Hindu offers prayers to this god to bless him with success He is the Lord, again, of the Ganas or troops of inferior deities[171] There is a good image of him (see Plate I in the *Industrial Arts of India*) with ankuśa and paraśu in his hands Subrahmanya or Skanda, the celebrated war-god of the Purānic literature, has a peacock for his vehicle (vāhana), just as Visnu has the Garuda or the golden eagle He is represented with six heads He wears the weapon Śakti resembling a spear, and his standard of victory flies over his head Other weapons attributed to him are the bows and arrows He is the *devasenāpati*, the commander-general of the celestials He is the symbol of energy and strength These gods are very familiar even to children in India, for every village temple contains some of them

Lastly, we may consider Durgā, the war-goddess, who is represented in several temples Special mention may be made of the one found in Mahābalipuram there was another at Singasari in Java, now in the Ethnographic Museum at Leyden It is a masterpiece in a great

170 Havell *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p 49

171 *Mārkandeyapurāna*, 82

stone alto-relievo of Durgā killing the demon Mahisa. It roughly belongs to the 10th century A D or later It is worth while comparing this with the description of Durgā's battle with the Asura in literature[172] In the battle that raged between Mahisāsura and Indra the latter was defeated and consequently the Asura became the god of heaven All the gods became enraged and created a goddess, each out of his own element Śiva endowed her with a trident, Visnu with a disc, Varuna with a noose, Agni with a spear, Marut with bow, arrows and quiver, Indra with the thunderbolt and the bell of his elephant, Yama with pāśa or rope, Kāla with a lustrous sword and shield, and Viśvakarma with a battle-axe She rode on a lion with a voice that struck terror In the battle thousands of Asuras with horses, elephants, and chariots offered resistance The Mahisāsura himself was equipped with the tomara, bhindipāla, śakti, musala, gadā, paraśu, and pattiśa Durgā attacked him with all her fury and a river of blood flowed in the field Cinchhuna, the general-in-chief of the Asura host, was killed with the trident, his staff, chariots, and horses being broken Lastly came Mahisa assuming the forms of a man, an elephant, and a buffalo, and fought bravely, but in vain His head was cut off and the whole of heaven and earth was filled with indescribable joy

Another manifestation of Śiva is Vīrabhadra, an image of which stands on the Kalmunda with Bhadrakālī in the Perur temple, in Coimbatore District It agrees with the description in literature[173] He has one head

172 See for instance *Devī Bhāgavatam* Bk V Ch VIII
173 *Bhā.*, P IV 5 (whole)

but thirty-two hands, matted hair and three eyes In the sixteen hands on his right side he wears respectively the symbol of protection from fear (abhayaprada), sword, trident, cakra, damaru, bow, arrow, ploughshare, lotus, scad of knowledge, barbed spear, dagger, rudrāksa-māla, khatvānga, club and battle-axe In those on the left side he wears respectively the symbol of blessing, a piece of wood, the hammer, the goad, the noose the snake, the fire, the deer, the bell, the bow, the gun, the lotus, a water pot, the shield, and others

NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

Examining the various coins found in India we notice some kinds of arms and armour exhibited in them In the Persian and Macedonian types of coins[174] on the obverse type a mounted horseman with lance at rest, pursues two mounted men on an elephant This is identified with Porus's pursuit on an elephant but cannot be conclusively accepted. On the reverse is a tall figure holding a spear and a thunderbolt The Indian types of Bactrian kings are illustrated by Appolodotus I wearing the bow and arrow and Antimachus naked to the waist wearing a trident in the right arm and perhaps a shield hanging from his left In the face of this numismatic evidence, Baden-Powell's conjecture that the śūla was only a temple symbol and not a war weapon, falls to the ground Moreover, it was probably the symbol of the Kushan kings, of the first century A D, as testified to by their coins[175] Again, in the numerous Indo-Scythian coins[176] the kings wear coats of mail, or chain armour,

174 *Cambridge History of India*, I, Plate I *Ibid*, p 389

175 *Ibid*, p 582

176 *Ibid*, Plate III

helmets, with straight swords and lances, some standing and others on horses or elephants There are also short curved spears, clubs, and other weapons Some of them belonged to the second or third century B C or even much earlier

We conclude with the words of Sir George Birdwood 'For variety, extent, and gorgeousness, and ethnological and artistic value, no such collection of Indian arms exists in this country (England) as that belonging to the Prince of Wales It represents the armourer's art in every province of India, from the rude spear of the savage Nicobar islanders to the costly, damascened, sculptured, and jewelled swords, and shields, spears, daggers and match-locks of Kashmir, Katch and Vizianagaram The most striking object in the collection is a suit of armour made entirely of the horny scales of the Indian armadillo, or pangolin, encrusted with gold, and turquoises, and garnets '[177]

Thus it is obvious that the artistic instinct was developed to a wonderfully high degree in ancient India of which any Indian may be proud But this steady and onward march of Indian art and sculpture was sometimes arrested by the continuous inroads of foreigners Even in such troublous times the arts of peace were not neglected There was a temporary setback since the advent of the East India Company But to-day with the growth of nationalism there is a significant awakening in this direction

177 *The Industrial Arts of India,* pp 171-2

CHAPTER IV

ARMY AND ARMY DIVISIONS

SECTION I

INTRODUCTORY

REGULAR and proper organisation are the life and soul of an army It was this great lesson that Prussia taught to an astonished Europe I advisedly use the words ‘ regular and proper ’ A regular army means a class of fighting men devoted to the service of the State, like the ancient Spartans who realised long ago what Bacon wrote centuries later ‘ Walled towns stored arsenals, and armouries, goodly races of horses, all this is but a sheep in a lion’s skin except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike ’ A proper army means that it must be efficient There should be no waste, no inefficiency With these preliminary remarks let us proceed to examine the ancient Indian army organisation

THE GAME OF CHESS AND THE FOUR-FOLD FORCE

Owing to peculiar geographical features,[1] with her vast plains interspersed with forests, the ancient Indian State had to make extensive use of mounted forces which comprised cavalry, chariots, and elephants This does not mean that infantry was neglected or it formed an

1 For the influence of geography on the Indian Wars see H C Ray *Notes on War in Ancient India*, Journal of the Department of Letters, 1927

unimportant limb of the army Hindu India possessed the classical fourfold force of chariots, elephants, horsemen, and infantry,[2] collectively known as the Caturangabala Students know that the old game of chess also goes by the name of Caturanga[3] Chess is a game of war, and in each game there are a king, a councillor, two elephants, two horses, two chariots, and eight foot-soldiers The major pieces occupy the opposite edges of the board and in front of them are posted the foot-soldiers The corner squares are occupied by the chariots, the next squares are occupied by the horses with the well-known move of the Knight and the third squares by the elephant In the two central squares are the King and the Councillor The foot-soldiers are arranged on the second and seventh rows On the whole the board is 8×8 squares[4] According to Tylor,[5] the game of chess was the invention of some Hindu who devised a game of war with the *aṣṭāpada* board as his field of battle From the reference to this game in the *Ṛg Veda* and the *Atharva Veda* and in the Buddhist and Jaina books, it must have been very popular in ancient India The Persian term *Chatrang* and the Arabic *Shatrang* are forms of the Sanskrit *Caturanga*[5a] This shows that India was the original

2 *Ar Śās*, p 140, *Kāma*, 19, 23 and 25, *Śukra* IV 7, *Agni Purāna* 228 6, *Jātaka* VI 298, Vol II, p 66, 70, 71, III 157, and 161 etc *Yukti*, p 6

3 See in this connexion *A History of Chess* by H J R Murray (Oxford, 1913)

4 See for details *op cit* pp 25 ff For some diagrams of chess see *Alberuni's India*, ed Sachau, also Parker, Ceylon

5 *Anthropology*, 1892, p 307

5a Śūlapāṇī, *Caturangadīpikā* (Cal Sanskrit series 21)

home of this game which spread throughout the ancient world

However this may be, we are here concerned with the question whether the fourfold force supplied the motive for the game or *vice versa* It is to be noted that the relative values of the chess pieces were analogous to or identical with the relative values of different arms as laid down by Kautalya, Śukra, and Vaiśampāyana This may mean that the values of different kinds of forces (made arbitrarily) were borrowed from chess While mathematically the relative values of chess pieces can be worked out, there is less possibility of proving the relative values of different kinds of forces in war We have to take it accordingly that the assumptions of Indian strategy were borrowed from chess, and not *vice versa* We find that wherever chess has spread, its influence has led to the ascription of the same relative values to different types of military forces, e g in Persia and China The organisation of the Indian army which came to be known as Caturanga, both in epic Sanskrit and Pāli literature, was based on the ancient game

The two methods of winning in early chess were the checkmate and the barring of the opponent's king[6] An exact reproduction of these methods is seen in ancient warfare, the prime object of which was the vanquishing of the enemy forces, secured by the capture or death of the opponent or by the devastation of his army We may also add that a symmetrical arrangement of the different forces and its advantages must have been taken from chess[7] It may be asked, in this connexion Can

6 *Op cit* p 45

7 I am indebted to Rao Bahadur Professor K V Rangaswami Aiyangar for this suggestion

it not be the other way round, or can it not be mere accidental identity? The answer is simple This was not possible, as we meet with the term *Caturanga,* a fourfold force, only in epic literature and not in the earlier Vedic literature And it may be pointed out that the Vedic works are full of references to the game of chess Therefore it is natural that the principles of chess supplied ideas to the progressive development of the modes and constituents of the army

SECTION II

FURTHER DIVISIONS

The traditional fourfold force was not a static division Later on the army was regarded as a sixfold force, *mantra* or the force of counsel and *kośa* or the power of the treasury being added to the original four divisions [8] The addition to the army of these two divisions was probably due to the early recognition by Hindu statesmen of the importance of a good treasury and expert counsel in military matters The consultation was, of course, advisory But the King would not take a line of his own independently of his Council In cases of difference of opinion he had to convert the Council to his view and then act This is clear from the Council held by Rāvana on the eve of the War of Lankā,[9] and from the proceedings of the meetings held by Rāma to entertain Vibhīsana as an ally [10]

8 एतन्मौलाद्विषड्भेद चतुरङ्ग नल विदु ।
षडङ्ग मन्त्रकोशाभ्या पदात्यश्वरथद्विपै ॥ Kāma 19 24

9 *Rāmāyana,* Yuddha, chh 35-36

10 *Rāmāyana,* Yuddha, chh 17-18

In another place[11] an eightfold division is mentioned Besides the *Caturanga* there is visti or commissariat and transport, navy or admiralty, *cāra* or spies, and *deśika* or elders and advisers

It is interesting to study the judicious distribution of work and responsibility without causing any internal friction which constituted the greatest merit of the ancient Indian army An examination of the different constituents of the army may therefore not be out of place here

SECTION III

CHARIOTS

Chariots were used in warfare from very remote times There are many references to chariots in the Samhitas and in the Brāhmanas In the *Rg Veda* there is a hymn addressed to the war chariot [12] ' Lord of the wood, be firm and strong in body be bearing as a brave victorious hero Show forth thy strength, compact with straps of leather and let thy rider win all spoils of battle ' We meet with a similar hymn in the *Atharva Veda*[13] ' O forest tree! stout-limbed verily mayst thou become our companion, further, rich in heroics; thou art

11 प्रकाशश्चाप्रकाशश्च दण्डोऽथ परिशब्दित ।
प्रकाशोऽष्टविधस्तत्र गुह्यश्च बहुविस्तर ॥
रथा नागा हयाश्चैव पादाताश्चैव पाण्डव ।
विष्टिर्नावश्चराश्चैव देशिका इति चाष्टम ॥
अङ्गान्येतानि कौरव्य प्रकाशानि बलस्य तु ॥

12 VI 47 26

13 Bk VI 125

fastened together with kine, be thou stout let him who mounts thee conquer things conquerable' 'Forth from heaven, from earth (is its) force brought up forth from forest trees (is its) power brought hither to the force of the waters, brought forth hither by the kine, to Indra's thunderbolt, the chariot, do thou sacrifice with oblations' 'Indra's forces, the Maruts' front, Mitra's embryo, Varuna's naval do thou, enjoying this oblation, giving of ours, O divine chariot, accept the oblations'

The chariot was an indispensable instrument of war in the days of the Vedas, and on its possession depended victory Indra is said to attack the chariot of Keśin [14] Originally the warrior was his own charioteer whose office had not yet been separated from that of the fighter Thus when the dreadful Asuras attacked the celestials, both Indra and Agni yoked and guided their horses themselves The separation of the two offices must have been effected about the time of the *Aitareya Brāhmana*[15] where mention is made for the first time of a charioteer distinct from the warrior The large[16] number of references to chariots in the *Aitareya Brāhmana* would seem to indicate that the chariot was an important instrument of war in these days This inference is supported by the *Taittirīya Brāhmana*[17] which mentions a class of people called *rathakāras*, or chariot-makers, and this may be taken as proof that war-chariots were in great demand Wars carried on mainly with the help of chariots, as during and before the days of the

14 *Ibid*, 75 1-7

15 IV 1, XXI 1 (A B Keith)

16 II 37, X 5, V 21, XXIV 3, VII 19, XXXIV 1 etc

17 *C H I*, I, p 125

Brāhmanas, could not have been very complex, and hence the *dvandvayuddha* of Sanskrit literature must be taken to have been a normal feature of this rather than of the later period The *dvandvayuddha* or single combat became gradually obsolete as a method of warfare, owing doubtless to the progress made in the art of war and the consequent growth in the scale and magnitude of military operations It is, however evident that the practice died only slowly The *Rāmāyana* has accounts of many single combats

The importance and value of chariots in warfare can be seen also in the epics In the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* their use is largely in evidence Here mention is made of official charioteers, *i e*, a king accompanied by a charioteer, similar to a custom depicted in Assyria on the marbles from Nineveh Thus whereas we had in the Rg Vedic age a single rider, in the age of the Brāhmanas and epics, we meet with one warrior and an accompanying charioteer In the *Atharva Veda* Indra was the left stander and the moon-god was the charioteer[18] In the fourth century B C two fighting men are seen in each chariot besides the charioteer This is testified by the fragments of Megasthenes[19] We know that Krsna was the charioteer of Arjuna in the Kuruksetra war and earned the appropriate title of Pārthasārathi

Vāsudeva, Arjuna, and Mātali are some of the great charioteers mentioned in the two epics Judging by the tests laid down by Vālmīki,[20] they appear to have been ideal charioteers, for they possessed all the quali-

18 Bk VIII 8 23

19 Frag 34 (McCrindle)

20 *Yuddha* 106, 16 20

fications required, and sometimes more. We read, for example, that Vāsudeva's great skill as a charioteer consisted in leading the horses in his charge in such circles as to avoid the shafts of the enemies from any quarter. *A propos* of the skill of charioteers, we may mention that there is a reference in the *Mārkandeya Purāna*[21] to the death of a warrior who was versed in the eight modes of fighting from a car.

It would be interesting to trace the relation of the charioteer to the Knight, and the status he held. There are different terms like *rathin*, *sūta*, and *sārathi* used to denote the charioteer, and of these *sūta* is the most misunderstood. As I have said elsewhere[22] it is a fundamentally wrong theory to identify this *sūta* with the celebrated Sūta paurānika. The latter is a sage and *ayonija*. The charioteer *sūta* belonged to one of the mixed castes who became horse-trainers, physicians, charioteers, etc. He occupied, in epic times, a place of

21 रथोद्वहनखिन्नाश्च त इमे रथवाजिन ।
दीना घर्मपरिश्रान्ता गावो वर्षहता इव ॥
निमित्तानि च भूयिष्ठ यानि प्रादुर्भवन्ति न ।
तेषु तेष्वभिपन्नेषु लक्षयाम्यप्रदक्षिणम् ॥
देशकालौ च विज्ञेयौ लक्षणानीङ्गितानि च ।
दैन्य खेदश्च हर्षश्च रथिनश्च बलाबलम् ॥
स्थलनिम्नानि भूमेश्च समानि विषमानि च ।
युद्धकालश्च विज्ञेयो परस्यान्तरदर्शनम् ॥
उपयानापयाने च स्थान प्रत्यपसर्पणम् ।
सर्वमेतद्रथस्थेन ज्ञेय रथकुटुम्बिना ॥

22 *Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāna* (Madras University)

honour on different occasions We know from the *Rāmāyana* the great esteem Sumantra,[23] the sūta of Daśaratha, enjoyed with the royal household

FUNCTIONS OF THE CHARIOTEER

His chief duty was to lead the war chariot and to shield his warrior He was ordinarily to obey the warrior's behests Sometimes the charioteer had his own way and acted against his Knight's wishes When the hero commanded him to drive the chariot in a particular direction, carelessly and irrespective of the consequences, the charioteer expostulated, but agreed only when compelled to take that line of action [24]

He was an expert who drove his horses with the whip and reins in his left hand But when this hand was wounded, he still drove on, holding the goad and reins in his right 'His true art', says Hopkins, 'consisted in wheeling and turning, in bringing the car rapidly about, so as to attack the antagonist with such speed from all quarters that the chariot seemed to advance from all sides at once The names of the circles are apparently technical The effect of circling was produced by goading the steeds and hauling on the reins '[25]

THE EVIDENCE OF ARTHAŚĀSTRA

The *Arthaśāstra* mentions a special officer called the Superintendent of Chariots (Rathādhyaksa) and lays

23 *Rāma Ayodhya* 59 (whole)

24 *Mhb Drona* 35 31-2, 36 (whole) Cp *Karna* 27 Here we have the legend of Brahmā acting as charioteer to Rudra bent upon blowing the Tripura the Asura citadel

25 *Op cit* p 253

down, in vexatious detail, rules regarding the sphere of his duties[26] From the number and minuteness of these rules we may infer that by this time the business of supervising the chariots of the State had become so unwieldy as to require a special officer According to the *Arthaśāstra* the normal height of a chariot was 10 purusas while its width ranged from 6 to 12 purusas Six varieties of chariots are mentioned, of which three were used in war, one in the period of training, the second for marching towards the enemy, and the third in the theatre of operations The chariots were two wheeled, four-wheeled, and eight-wheeled Each car was accompanied by ten or fifty elephants[27] The duties of the officer in charge of the chariots were many and varied He was to see that warriors were trained to fight from chariots He was to maintain accounts relating to the construction of chariots, their establishment charges, and other things connected with his department

The value of a chariot as a unit of the army was great It could ably and effectively resist the attacks of the enemy, suddenly occupy positions of advantage and quickly abandon disadvantageous situations, easily rally the soldiers fallen into disorder, break through the ranks of the enemy, and threaten the enemy's rear[28]

Megasthenes refers to the chariots as follows — ' The chariots are drawn on the march by oxen but the horses are led along by a halter, that their legs may not be galled and inflamed nor their spirits damped by drawing chariots In addition to the charioteer there

26 Bk II 33

27 *Mhb Udyoga* 155 15-24

28 *Ar Śās*, Bk X 4, *Kāma* 20 4, *Nīti* VI 62 63

are two fighting men who sit in the chariot beside him '[29] It is of interest to note that chariots were drawn by oxen It was realised that the special quality of the horse was not endurance, but speed, and that horses whose energies had been spent in marching would be useless in the field

In addition to chariots drawn by horses there were others drawn by asses and bulls The *Rāmāyana* tells us that Indrajit's chariot was drawn by mules[30] The *Mahābhārata* refers to a war car drawn by sixteen white bulls The employment of asses and bulls may also be attributed to the lack of suitable horses

DIFFERENT TYPES

Chariots were of different types and materials Śukra mentions[31] an awe-inspiring chariot of iron with swift-moving wheels, provided with good seats for the warriors[32] and a seat in the middle for the charioteer, the chariot was also equipped with all kinds of offensive and defensive weapons[33] The *Harivamśa*[34] speaks of the iron car of the Dānava Tata having eight wheels, axles and poles and being furnished with a crow standard It was two miles in length and drawn by

29 Frg 34 (McCrindle)

30 *Yuddha* 73 8 The *Atharva Veda* evidences a chariot yoked with she-mules (Bk VIII 8 22) It is to be noted that the Babylonians used ass drawn chariots from time immemorial Hall *The Ancient History of Near East,* p 181 (1932)

31 IV 7 30-31.

32 For a description of a chariot warrior see *Mhb* IV, 54 10-22 especially st 22

33 *Ibid*, *Drona* 112 48

34 Ch 43

1000 mules Iron nets were hung from its windows and a variety of weapons were found in it This is an exaggerated description apparently of a very strong and huge chariot, and shows that chariots were freely used in wars

From the time of the epics to the epoch of the Purānas the art of fighting from chariots had developed a high degree of perfection But we must not be blind to their defects If the ground became slippery by incessant rain, the chariots got stuck in the mud and became immovable from their great weight This is what happened in the battle of the Hydaspes Owing to the storm of rain, 'the chariots in rushing into action jolted over broken and slippery ground' The horses again took fright and precipitated the carriages not only into the sloughs and pools of water but even into the river itself[35]

Each chariot was marked off by its ensign and banner Though a reference is made to the position of the flag-staff in a car,[36] its exact place is only a matter of conjecture It may be, as Hopkins thinks, that a staff was fixed at the back of the chariot rising aloft from the floor The main staff was fixed in the middle of this back portion and small flags flew on either side It must be remembered that the first object of attack by the enemy's arrows was the flag pole which was made of bamboo, if *vainavī yasti*[37] means anything If the banner fell, the hero lost his prestige and there arose

35 See McCrindle *Ancient India*, The Invasion of Alexander p 208

36 *Bhīsma*, 101 47-48, *Sauptika* 13 4

37 *Ādi*, 64 17

confusion in the rank and file In the top of the staff was placed the *dhvaja* or *ketu* bearing an image Whether *dhvaja* and *ketu* were one and the same thing, or the *ketu* formed a part of the *dhvaja*, it is not possible to say The *dhvaja* came to be so important that the army went by the name of *dhvajini*[38] The symbols were either animals or trees and flowers Bhīsma's ensign was the palm Bells and garlands sometimes adorned the flag[39]

Besides flags, umbrellas (*chattra*, *ātapatra*) and fans were a part of the parapheinalia of the war chariot The umbrella, which was a prominent feature of all festive occasions, was also seen in the field of action It was often of white material, the stick sometimes being golden[40] Among the spoils of war one had to gather the umbrellas in the battle-field In the old Tamil literary works we are told that often the umbrella sticks and the flag staff recovered from the enemy became the talaikkol used by dancing girls in Tamil India[41] This only indicates that the ancient Tamils attached as much importance to these paraphernalia as their northern brethren

ITS DECLINE

Gradually the use of chariots in war declined, and we have no mention of it in Bāṇa's *Harsacarita* (7th century A D) in his description of *Harsa's army*[42] Nor

38 *Udyoga*, 155 25

39 *Drona*, VII 105 (whole)

40 *Bhīsma*, 55 31

41 See Dikshitar, *Śilappadikāram*, pp 102-3

42 Cowell and Thomas—Trn pp 224-25

was it seen in the army of Pulakeśin II (641 A D), if we may rely on the authority of Yuan Chwang [43] Again, in the Kūram Pallava grant[44] about 650 A D , which describes the battle of Peruvala Nallūr, only elephants, horses, and footmen are mentioned and not chariots Further in the history of the Chola kings of South India, during the succeeding centuries mention is only made of the other three divisions of the army The chariots, as instruments of war, are not mentioned—a clear indication that they must have become obsolete by that time Still the evidence is strong that in India from the earliest times down to the end of the epoch of the epics and even several centuries after, chariots played a very prominent part in warfare

SECTION IV

ELEPHANTS

The next important force of war consisted of elephants From very early times the elephant was used in peace as a vehicle and in war as a combatant [45] It was an excellent means of transport over rugged tracts The numerous representations of the animal on coins and

43 Watters II p 239 See also *Dept of Letters*, 1927, pp 38-39

44 *S I I*, Vol I, p 153

45 For the origin and value of elephants in war see Pālakāpya quoted in the *Laksanaprakāśa*, pp 321-28 The Parāśara Samhitā refers to four kinds of elephants, also mentioned in the *Visnudharmottara* and *Brahmānda Purāna* These are Bhadra, Manda, Mrga and Miśra with their respective characteristics Cp also Brhaspati Samhitā quoted in *Laksanaprakāśa*, pp 329 ff The Brhaspati Samhitā classifies them according to the nature of territory—those of forests, of mountains and of rivers (*Ibid*, p 357)

in architectural and sculptural works from Gāndhara to Rāmeśvaram as well as bronze figures in Indonesia are an indication of the esteem in which it was held by the ancient Indians, clearly on account of its usefulness There is a reference in the *Rg Veda* to two elephants bending their heads and rushing together against the enemy,[46] which is a fairly early reference to the animal being used in war In the earlier texts of this Samhitā the elephant is spoken of as a wild animal with one hand, while in the later ones it is designated as ‘hastin’[47] By the time of the *Yajur Veda Samhitā* the art of training elephants had become common

The *Arthaśāstra*[48] mentions a special officer of the State for the care of elephants, and lays down his duties and other particulars connected with that office Later works like that of *Pālakāpya* refer to a Gajāmātya, while the *Visnudharmottara* speaks of him as Gajādhyaksa, both denoting the same official He should be versed in the different sounds of the animal He must also be pure and skilled in accounts A good trainer of elephants, he must be able to distinguish different classes of the animal and capable of enduring trouble, self-controlled, experienced, an interpreter of signs and omens and one who can attend to the ills of an elephant—such a man may be appointed as its rider[49] According to Kautalya the officer was to protect elephants and the

46 X 106 6

47 *C H I* I p 81

48 हस्त्यध्यक्षो हस्तिवनरक्षा दम्यकर्मक्षान्तानां हस्तिहस्तिनीकलभानां शाला-स्थानशय्याकर्मविधायवसप्रमाण कर्मस्वांयोग बन्धनोपकरण सान्ग्रामिकमलङ्कार चिकित्सकानीकस्थायुकवर्गं चानुतिष्ठेत् ॥

49 See *Laksanaprakāsa*, pp 400-2

elephant-forests He was to regulate the quantity of rations and grass to be supplied to elephants, supervise their stables and accoutrements, and watch the work of the grooms and mahouts He was to see that the sick and wounded elephants were treated by the veterinary surgeon specially appointed for the purpose He was also to disburse the wages and salaries of those who were employed in the elephant stables He was to see that the animals were washed both morning and evening and fed immediately after their wash They were to be watered in the afternoon after their daily exercise which was in the forenoon The remaining portion of the day was the time for rest The animals caught were arranged in three classes [50] The *Arthaśāstra* gives directions for the construction of stables and also particulars for feeding the elephants. The intelligence of the animals was to be gauged by their appearance and external marks

Seven ways of training elephants for war are mentioned —[51]

Upasthāna—rising and jumping over fences and other eminences

Samvartana—sitting and leaping over pits

Samyāna—marching straight or zigzag

Vadhāvadha—trampling under foot horses and foot-soldiers.

Hastiyuddha—pitting elephants against one another

50 Uttama, (Bhadra), Madhyama (Manda) and Avara or the lower animals, see Ganapati Sastri's Gloss *Ar Śās* Bk II 31

51 *Ar Śās.* B II 32 See also Someśvara's *Mānasollāsa* Sts 307 ff

Nāgarāyana—rushing against forts and buildings
Sāmgrāmika—used in open warfare

The Mahout was to have a staff and the *ankus* or goad The animals were to be caparisoned with various plates, ornaments, and bells [52] There were flags seen upon the elephants, and these were called *Vaijayantīs,* smaller in size to those attached to war-chariots There seem to have been special flags intended to be borne by war elephants [53]

Megasthenes explains[54] how the elephants were hunted, and how their distempers were cured by simple remedies such as cow's milk for eye-disease and pig's fat for sores He further speaks of a committee to supervise elephants and refers to royal stalls and to a war-elephant carrying four men, three archers, and a driver It is interesting in this connexion to note what Plutarch writes of the elephant of Porus in his battle with Alexander [55]

> 'His elephant, waxing furious though not yet wounded, kept changing the ranks of the enemy until the driver, perceiving the king's condition, turned the best round and fled The Indian driver thinking the king wished to alight, made the elephant kneel down in the usual manner Alexander, supposing that he was dead, ordered his body to be stripped—when the elephant turned upon them in defence

52 Bk II 32

53 *Mhb Bhīsma,* 112 27,

54 See Arrian XIII, McCrindle pp 218-19 (Cal 1926) Cp *Vāyupurāna* 16 20 where allusion is made to the training of wild elephants by a hook

55 McCrindle *Invasion of Alexander,* pp 212 ff

of his master and lifting him up placed him once more on its back'

How much importance and value was attached to these animals in war can be gathered from the words of Alexander himself before he crossed the Hydaspes In the course of the instructions he gave his followers, he said 'It is the elephant only which makes it impossible for the horses to land on the other bank The rest of the army can cross over without difficulty'[56] We are told how these huge beasts at first crushed the Macedonian phalanx though in close formation and created terror among the soldiers of Alexander until they became quite exhausted Thus a detailed study of the battle of the Hydaspes shows the superiority of the elephant crops over the other divisions of the army[57]

The *Agni Purāna*[58] considered to be as late as c 900 A.D has some interesting details Six warriors could ride at a time on an elephant, two with maces on its neck, two archers on its back, and two with swords behind them While the elephant marched, it was defended by three horsemen If this reckoning is compared with the different orders recommended on various occasions in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*, it only shows that the arrangements were dictated by the circumstances, and there was nothing like a uniform law which was to be observed, though in theory it was there[59] For

56 *Ibid*, p 98 Hellenic military art was just then becoming familiar with the use of elephants in warfare Pyrrhus, the Epirot, made use of elephantry, in the next century, in his wars against the Romans who later learnt of its effective use from the Carthagenians

57 Cp *Ar Śās*, *Hastipradhāno Vijayarājyam*

58 Ch 242, 24 ff

59 Hopkins, *op cit* p 267, *n*,

instance, while in one place we are told that a chariot had ten elephants, and each elephant had in its turn ten horsemen, in another place it is said that each chariot had 100 elephants, and each elephant had 1,000 horsemen protecting it [60] In actual practice, however, the Matsya army consisted of 8,000 chariots, 1,000 elephants, and 60,000 horse.[61]

The services of elephants in ancient wars were great They marched in front of the army clearing the way of trees and shrubs They protected the flanks of the army, helped the army to ford rivers, presented a firm front in fight, broke down the enemy phalanx, routed the enemy's army, rallied the soldiers of their side, and safeguarded the treasure [62] Generally the elephants formed the best decorations of a royal camp, and a monarch could achieve any amount of military success by means of his elephants alone [63] On account of their importance in battle, only animals possessing distinct characteristics are recommended to kings for their stud Some of these are said to be of the colour resembling a rainy cloud, some had a fund of physical strength, good height, attainment of speed with little or no use of the goad, a commanding appearance, combative propensity, and a power of enduring any amount of fatigue It was only such noble animals that were kept in the royal stable chiefly for purposes of war The elephant science, which went by the name of gajaśikṣa or hasti śāstra, was a special branch of study and formed

60 *Mhb*, *Drona*, 60 5-6, *Udyoga* 155-16

61 *Virāt*, 33 48

62 *Agni Purāna*, 242 23 4, *Kāma* 20, 1-3, *Nīti* 22 6

63 *Nīti*, 23 3

an important part of military discipline.'[64]

According to *Siva-Vyāsa Dhanurveda*,[65] whose date of composition is difficult to fix with the data available at present, the king who possessed good and trained elephants was sure to succeed in every engagement, as they effectively destroyed the entrenchments of the enemy's camp, vigorously protected the flanks of their own army, pulled down towers in a fury, struck terror into the enemy's heart, destroyed his phalanx, and cleared a passage even through the densest forest Lastly, they were ready to sacrifice their own lives for their master's benefit and hence there was nothing equal to an elephant corps Here we cannot forbear giving a beautiful Jātaka story[66] which pays a tribute to the noble qualities of the animal The Bodhisatta was the son of an elephant-trainer in the neighbourhood of Benares. He was appointed to train the State elephant of his own king Once the king mounting on it led an attack on the city of Benares The soldiers who offered defences from within the city gates discharged a shower of missiles against the enemy at which the elephant was frightened a little The trainer addressed the elephant thus 'Son, a hero like you is quite at home in the battle-field! In such a place it is disgraceful to turn tail'

64 *Matsya Purāna* ch 215 36 In this connexion we may refer to the two published works on this subject One is *Hastyāyurveda* (Anandasrama, Poona) attributed to Pālakāpya and *Mātangalīla* (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No 10) translated by Edgerton of Yale University—' The Elephant Lore of the Hindus '

65 Śārngadhara, 1572 and 1573

66 Cowell ed II 182

'Break through the iron bar, beat the pillars down,
Crash through the gates, made fast for war and enter the town'

Recovering courage the elephant rushed towards the pillars of the gates with all his force and fury and broke them to pieces Then he pulled down the gates and entered the city in victory and glee

This Jātaka throws some light on the view sometimes held that there were no fire-weapons in ancient India Certain Greek writers state that Indian elephants did not face the discharge of flaming missiles, and it has been argued from this that the animals shied thus, because they had not been used to fire-weapons of any kind, there having been none in India.[67] But the circumstances noticed by the Greek writers seem to be capable of a more reasonable explanation, viz, that these writers speak from their experience of merely exceptional occurrences in which the severity of attack on the animals was greater than could have been borne by elephants of any place whatsoever Thus the elephant in the Jātaka wavered because the shower of missiles discharged at the animal was exceptionally heavy—not because any fiery arm was thrown at it [68]

As in the north, elephants formed an important army division of South Indian monarchs It is said

67 McCrindle *Alexander's Invasion*

68 The use of burning naphtha balls thrown against onrushing elephants to frighten them and make them turn back on their own side, is mentioned by early Muhammadan historians as a feature of the warfare between the Rajputs and the Turkish invaders from the North-west (Elliot and Dowson, Vol I)

that the Chera king Śenguttuvan had a valuable force of elephants on whom he relied in great measure for his victories It was on an elephant that he rode to the Ganges on whose banks he fought the northern Aryan monarchs [69] That south India was particularly strong in the elephant corps of her army organisation can be seen from the great anxiety displayed by Malik Kafur to take all the animals he could get to his master at Delhi who set a high value on their possession This was in the 14th century [70]

SECTION V

CAVALRY

The third division of the army common to both east and west was cavalry. We learn from the Kautalīya and Megasthenes that there was a well-organised and efficient cavalry force in the army of Candragupta The cavalry as an organised force may be traced to the post-Vedic period but not earlier, for, though we have references to horses[71] and war chariots drawn by horses,[72] we have no indication that the cavalry as a disciplined force existed in the days of the *Rg Veda* This also explains to some extent why we have not a good number of horses among the Indus Valley finds recently unearthed In the *Atharva Veda,* however, we hear of dust-raising horsemen [73]

69 *Śila* XXVI 1 57

70 *Vide* The Khazainu-'l-Futuh of Amir Khusrau (tr & ed) by Prof M Habib (1930)

71 RV i 22 6 7-8, vi 46, 13 14, etc

72 *Ibid*, 1 3 1

73 IV 21 4

In this connexion it is interesting to consider the oft-repeated statement that horses are non-Indian It is not the whole truth They were known to the Asuras of Vedic literature There is a legend narrated in the third book of the *Hariharacaturanga* (though this is a work of the late 12th century A D , the tradition recorded is very ancient) Once Brahmā performed a sacrifice out of which came a white horse with wings It again came out as Uccaiśravas during the mythical churning of the milk ocean Bali, the asura chief took it for his use and with it as his riding animal he was able to achieve many impossible things The Devas noticed the value of such a riding animal and appealed to the Creator for its possession Out of the tears of the latter in the Daksayajña came forth horses which were divided into four castes and many other sub-castes Daksa felt them to be a nuisance and cursed them to find their abode on the earth deprived of their wings Thenceforward the horses became the riding animals of gods and men These horses went to the Himalayan slopes where the hermitage of the sage Śālihotra was The latter protected them as his own sons and presented them to gods like Indra, Agni Varuna, as well as to kings on the earth If there is any historical truth underlying this legend, it is that the Asuras were the first to know the use of horses and that the Devas learnt it afterwards [74]

But in the epoch of the epics and the *Arthaśāstra* we find that the cavalry occupied as important a place in the army as any other division Kautalya mentions

74 Cp Nakula *Aśvaśāstra*, quoted in *Laksanaprakāśa*, pp 407 ff

a State superintendent of horses,[75] who had many duties to discharge besides maintaining a register of horses. The prescriptions of Kautalya relating to the duties of this officer are analogous to those of the superintendent of elephants, and only the more important of them from our point of view need be noticed here Only experts in horse training and versed in healing the sick ones were chosen as aśvādhyakṣa [76]

Megasthenes[77] corroborates the evidence of the *Arthaśāstra.* There was a special department in the State for the cavalry The horses of the State were provided with stables and placed under the care of good grooms and syces There were several trained horsemen who could jump forward and arrest the speed of galloping horses But the majority of them rode their horses with bit and bridle When horses became ungovernable they were placed in the hands of professional trainers who made the animals gallop round in small circles These professionals were experts in the management and control of horses In selecting horses of war, their age, strength, and size were taken into account [78] We may remark in passing that Abhimanyu's horses were only three years old [79]

75 अश्वाध्यक्ष पण्यागारिक क्रमोपागतमाहवलब्धमाजात साहाय्यागतकपण-
स्थित यावत्कालिक वाश्वपर्यग्र कुलवयोवर्णचिह्नकर्मवर्गागमैर्लेखयेत् ।

Bk II 30

76 *Ibid* 77 Frag 34 and 35

78 The *Yuktikalpataru* distinguishes four kinds of horses The classification is regional (p 181) The inferior beasts are designated *nīca* and *kanīyāmsa*

79 तत सनोदयामास हयानाशुत्रिहायनान् । अतिहृष्टमाना सूतो हेमभाण्डपरि-
च्छदान् ॥ *Mhb Droṇa,* 36 12

Arrian says: 'The horsemen are equipped with two lances like the lances called Saunia and with a shorter buckler than that carried by the foot-soldiers But they do not put saddle on their horses, nor do they curb them with bits like the bits in use among the Greeks or the Kelts but they fit on round the extremity of the horses's mouth a circular piece of stitched raw ox-hide studded with pricks of iron or brass pointing inwards, but very sharp ' There are also ivory pricks The reins are connected with iron prongs in their mouths It is practically this prong that keeps the animal in check To this prong are connected the pricks, which have their own share in controlling these animals [80]

How important the science of horses was to the ancient Indians is best seen from the *Lakṣanaprakāśa* which quotes from several important old authorities some of which are probably lost to us Among them are the *Aśvāyurveda* and *Aśvaśāstra*, the former attributed to Jayadeva and the latter to Nakula As the traditional origin of the elephants is bound up with the name of the sage Sāmagāyana, so also the legendary account of the origin of horses is connected with another sage, Śālihotra There is a treatise on horses entitled *Śālihotram* It refers to the four castes of horses and numerous mixed horses [81] Another treatise on horses is *Aśvacikitsita* by Nakula In the *Śukranītisāra*[82] we get an elaborate list of the characteristics of a noble horse and of the various auspicious and inauspicious marks[83] on horses The

80 See *Arrian*, XVI

81 See *Lakṣanaprakāśa*, pp 408 ff

82 IV 7 42-72 and 75-110, *Yukti* pp 181-97

83 It is said in the *Mahābhārata* that Nala was a master of horse-science which was imparted to Ṛtuparna (*Ādi* 75 17-18)

colour of the horse[84] and its gait are also commented upon Rules are given for the proper care of horses

From the great attention paid to horses in the *Arthaśāstra* treatises there is every reason to think that these animals played a very important part in warfare Both the Purānas and the epics agree that the horses of the Sindhu and Kamboja regions were of the finest breed, and that the services of the Kambojas as cavalry troopers were requisitioned in ancient wars In the *Mahābhārata* war the Kambojans were enlisted The steeds of Bāhlika were also highly esteemed [85] Horses had names and so also had elephants [86] Some of the finest horsemen who were experts in their art were Śalya, Karna and Krsna [87] Unlike the chariot horse, the cavalryman drove his animal with a whip which was generally fixed to the wrist This allowed his hand free play The cavalryman was armed with arrow or spear or sword He wore breastplate and turban (usnīsa) [88] Worth noting is the fact that horses were made to drink wine before actually marching to battle [89] The tactical use of the cavalry was to break through the obstacles on the way, to pursue the retreating enemy, to cover the flanks of the army to effect speedy communication with the various parts of the army unobserved (bahutsara) and to pierce the enemy ranks from the front to the rear [90] The cavalry was responsible, in a large measure

84 *Drona*, 23 73-74, *Bhīsma*, 79 51
85 *Rāma, Bāla*, I 6 22 *Mhb Sauptika*, 13 2
86 See *Rāma Bāla* I 6 23-24
87 *Mhb*, *Drona*, 31 59-60
88 *Mhb*, *Karna*, 44 64-7
89 *Ibid*,, *Drona*, 112 56
90 *Kāma* 20 5-6, *Nīti* VI 64-65, *Nītivākya* 22 8,

for the safety and security of the army in entrenched positions, forests or camps It obstructed movements of supplies and reinforcements to the enemy In short, the cavalry was indispensable in situations requiring quickness of movement [91]

We shall conclude this section with the following hymn of the *Atharva Veda*

'Be thou, O steed, of wind switness, being harnessed, go in Indra's impulse, with mind-quickness let the all possessing Maruts harness thee let Tvastar put quickness in thy feet

'The quickness, O courser, that is put in thee in secret, also that went about committed to the hawk, to the wind with that strength do thou O steed, being strong, win the race, resuming in the conflict'

SECTION VI

INFANTRY

The next important division of the army was the infantry, or foot-soldiers Originally chariots and elephants were mostly used for warfare By frequent intercourse with countries which produced the finest horses the cavalry took an all-important place Lastly came the foot-soldiers and the notion came to be entertained more and more with the march of time that the more numerically strong the army, the greater were the

91 See Śankarārya's comment on the Kāmandaka 20 5 Śighra-kāryopapādanam meaning vārtājñānādikārya sampādanam This is especially useful in getting correct information, and delivering the same in the course of the operations of war (*Mbh Bhīsma*, 120 28)

possibilities of its success The *Atharva Veda* refers to one of the battle rites when arming a warrior 'I cover thy vitals with armour let king Soma dress thee over with the immortal let Varuna make for thee (room) wider than wide after thee conquering let the gods revel'[92] One mode of equipment was with the ensigns[93]

The *Arthaśāstra* speaks of the infantry as a separate army department under the charge of a special officer of the State This receives confirmation from Megasthenes' statement[94] Besides the *maula* or hereditary troops which formed a considerable portion of the army, there were the *bhrta* or mercenaries, the *śreni* or soldiers supplied by the different group and guild organisations in the state, the *mitra* or soldiers supplied by allies, the *amitra* or deserters from the enemy ranks, and the *ātavi* or those recruited from forest tribes[95] Professor Rapson says that these were probably marshalled, village by village, as in ancient Greece and Germany and as in Afghanistan at the present day Though the military caste formed the bulk of the army, other castes were also admitted into it under special circumstances This classification formed probably a cross-division scheme including cavalry men also The value of a hereditary standing army and its loyalty to the king were well recognized[96] It was Emperor Augustus who realised

92 Bk VII 118 93 Bk X 1

94 *Ar Śās* Bk X 5 पत्तिव्यूह पुरस्तादावरणिन पृष्ठतो धन्विन इति also Bk IX 2 Frg 34

95 *Ar Śās* Bk IX 2 मौलभृतकश्रेणीमित्रामित्राटवीबल" ।

96 *Nīti*, 22, 15 Cp *Ar Śās* तद्भावभावित्वान्नित्यसत्कारानुगमाच्च मोलबल भृतवलाच्छ्रेय' Bk IX 2

that the lack of a central reserve was a serious defect in the Roman defensive system (Fuller op cit p. 116) The soldiers were given the necessary training required for actual operations in the field They were instructed to fight from low ground or from eminences, to engage in open battle or diplomatic encounters, to fight from trenches and to fight both by day and by night The *Nītiprakāśikā* gives a list of their duties [97] They were to fix camps, supervise the work of free labourers engaged in military service, protect the treasury, arsenal, and other stores, and make arrangements for the formation of battle arrays According to the *Śukranīti* and the *Kāmandakanītisāra*, the army was to be made as imposing as possible to frighten the enemy by its size The *Śukranīti* also mentions that foot-soldiers possessed fire-arms when they fought [98]

When these foot-soldiers equipped themselves for war, Arrians says that ' they carry a bow made of equal length with the man who bears it This they rest upon the ground and pressing against it with their left foot, thus discharge the arrow having drawn the string backwards for the shaft they use is little short of being three yards long, and there is nothing which can resist an Indian Archer's shot—neither shield nor breast-plate, nor any stronger defence if such there be In their left

97 शोधन कूपतीर्थानां मार्गाणा शिबिरस्य च ।
स्कधावारस्य करण विष्टिकर्मप्रसाधन ॥
कोशागारायुधागार धान्यागारादिरक्षण ।
व्यूहप्राकारकरण पत्तिकर्म प्रचक्षते ॥ VI 66-7

98 IV 7 24 See Oppert *J A O S* 1888, P 296 and also *C H I*, I, p 271

hand they carry bucklers made of undressed ox-hide which are not so broad as those who carry them but are about as long.'

If we turn to the ancient nations and especially the ancient Egypt we meet with almost a similar description 'The infantry was, as we should expect, composed of troops of the line and light troops The former wore either short wigs arranged in rows of curls, or a kind of padded cap by way of a helmet, thick enough to deaden blows, the breast and shoulders were undefended, but a short loin-cloth was wrapped round the hips, and the stomach and upper part of the thighs were protected by a sort of triangular apron, sometimes scalloped at the sides, and composed of leather thongs attached to a belt A buckler of moderate dimensions had been substituted for the gigantic shield of the earlier Theban period, it was rounded at the top and often furnished at the solid metal boss, which the experienced soldiers always endeavoured to present to the enemy's lances and javelins Their weapons consisted of pikes about five feet long, with road bronze or copper points, occasionally of nails, axes, daggers, short curved swords, and spears the trumpeters were armed with daggers, only, and the officers did not as a rule encumber themselves with either buckler or pike, but bore an axe and dagger, and occasionally a bow The light infantry was composed chiefly of bowmen—pidatiu—the celebrated archers of Egypt, whose long bows and arrows, used with deadly skill, speedily became renowned throughout the East the quiver of the use of which their ancestors were ignorant, had been borrowed from the Asiatics, probably from the Hyksos, and was carried hanging to the side or slung over the shoulder' (Maspero Struggle of the Nations, Egypt, Syria and Assyria, pp 212-14)

Another mode of equipping for war is also mentioned Instead of bows some foot-soldiers were armed with javelins But all wore swords with broad blades and less than three cubits in length These were wielded with both hands in close fight to effect a mighty blow [99] As if to demonstrate the superiority of disciplined infantry, the *Agnipurāna* says that victory ever attends the army where foot-soldiers are numerically strong [100] It is worthwhile to recall that the main idea of Roman tactics was that the infantry was the decisive arm And this proved so in the battle of Hastings which was the last trial of foot against horse (Fuller op cit p 188)

The *Śukranīti*[101] distinguishes the foot-soldiers by the term *svagama* from *anyāgama* applicable to the other three limbs of the *caturanga* The field suitable to their operations was that which contained huge stones or trees and ant-hills It was to be free from thorns, and should be even, and wide [102]

Somadevaśuri divides the armies of his time according to the regions in his *Yaśastilaka Campū* and notes particularly the prominent features of the soldiers of each region The description may generally apply to all soldiers and particularly to foot-soldiers Referring to the Tamil soldiers (Drāmila-bala) he says that each of them had a tuft of hair at the centre of the head (kudumi), gold ear-rings, moustaches, and spark

99 Arrian, XVI

100 सेना पदातिबहुला शत्रूञ्जयति सर्वदा Ch 228-7 See in this connexion the remarks of Irvine on the Moghul Infantry, p 57 *The Army of Indian Moghuls*

101 IV 7 3

102 Cp *Śānti* 100 23-25

ling white teeth. Their complexion was black and they used umbrellas of peacock feathers besides red painted wooden shields at their waist They were noted for the billowing and jumping movements (pp 463-4) Speaking on the Karnāta forces (Dākshinātya-bala) the author describes them as wearing red turbans tapering in the middle, necklace of beads, with close beards and moustache, necks covered, clothes girded up high at the loins, and with daggers at their waists They were followed by panegyrists who went singing their valour (pp 461-3) A reference is made to the Gūrjara army They wore dhoties hanging down to the knees, had bushy growth of hair all over the body besides hanging locks of hair and moustache They had quivers of arrows on both shoulders, and daggers at their waist (p 467) Lastly the author refers to the soldiers of Tirhut and Gauda (Tairabhuktam-balam) They had worn out teeth fronts caused by continuous betel-chewing, wore clothes dangling to their feet and had long tufts of hair They were irascible by temperament They were adepts in battle in water-logged places (pp 465-7) (See V Raghavan's article Gleanings from Somadevasūri's Yaśastilaka Campū in the Ganganath Jha Research Institute Journal, Vol I, Pt 3, May, 1944)

SECTION VII

THE COMMISSARIAT

The *caturanga* was a classical division of the army accepted by tradition But in the epoch of the epics we hear of a *sadanga*[103] or the six-fold army, includin

103 This term Sadanga connoted differently in different periods The *Śukranītisāra* mentions seven elements of the army (IV 7 1)

commissariat and admiralty The use of commissariat can be traced to the epic age This belonged to the category of administrative division of troops as against the combatant We are told that this division of the army into two categories was first seen in the battle of Mansikert (1071 A D) (J F C Fuller, Decisive battles) But, centuries before, the Indian army leaders had realised the value of such a division It is said that when the Pāndava army marched to Kuruksetra it was followed by ' carts and transport cars, and all descriptions of vehicles, the treasury, weapons, and machines,

the usual fourfold division together with bulls, camels and cannon The last may be appropriately termed as the artillery Bulls and camels are mentioned in the description of the army by Kautalya, but by themselves they did not constitute two separate divisions as mentioned by Śukra who probably lived in the early centuries of the Christian era The attempt to show that the Vijayanagar army consisted of the divisions mentioned by Śukra with the exception of chariots on the single evidence of the Bakhar of Rāmarāja cannot be definitely accepted as we are told by Sewell that the troops of Vijayanagara which marched against the Sultan of Gulbarga in A D 1419 consisted of horse, foot and elephants (Saletore, *Social and Political Life*, I, pp 420-21 and Sewell, *Forgotten Empire*, p 65) We have to treat this evidence with caution It seems more likely that bulls and camels continued to be auxiliaries of the cavalry and elephants This larger use of camels and bulls was necessitated by the lack of supply of good horses We are told that the foreign policy pursued by Vijayanagar was to get a good supply of horses from Armuz (Sewell, *op cit*, pp 381-2) It may also be noticed that the price of a horse was very heavy (Barbosa, I, p 211) As for the artillery it is difficult to agree with the view often glibly expressed that it was unknown to the age of the *Arthaśāstra* (Saletore, *op cit* p 420) In the epic and *Arthasāstra* period artillery included mostly chariots and sometimes infantry who used fire arms against the enemy)

and physicians and surgeons, along with the few invalids that there were in the army and all those that were weak and powerless' This was a purely civil department attached to the army[104] That a group of physicians formed part of the army on the march is again attested by another reference to them in the next chapter They had with them the necessary medicines and other equipment In describing the camp of the Pāndavas we are told that skilled and experienced workmen were found in great numbers in the army and that these were given regular salaries In it were seen all kinds of weapons, besides plenty of water, food and fodder, chaff and fire Other articles were honey, clarified butter, and pounded lac[105]

In another chapter of the same parvan,[106] in the course of a description of Duryodhana's army, we are

104 शकटापणवेशाश्च यानयुग्य च सर्वश ।
कोश यन्त्रायुध चैव ये च वैद्याश्चिकित्सका ॥
फाल्गु यच्चबल किंचिद्यच्चापि कृशदुर्बलम् ।
तत्सङ्गृह्य ययौ राजा ये चापि परिचारका ॥ *Mhb Udyoga*, 151, 58 59

105 तत्रासन्शिल्पिन प्राज्ञा शतशो दत्तवेतना ।
सर्वोपकरणैर्युक्ता वैद्या शास्त्रविशारदा ॥
ज्याधनुर्वर्मशस्त्राणा तथैव मधुसर्पिषो ।
ससर्ज रसपांसूना राशय पर्वतोपमा ॥
बहूदक सुयवस तुषाङ्गारसमन्वितम् ।
शिबिरे शिबिरे राजा सञ्चकार युधिष्ठिर ॥ *Ibid*, 152, 12-14

106 Ch 155 Compare the organisation of the Byzantine army of the ninth and tenth centuries A D as furnished by Charles Oman in *A History of the Art of War in Middle Ages* (1905), pp 189 ff

told that it went forth furnished with all the requirements of a large army Some of these were materials for repair of chariots, tiger skins to cover the chariots, spare spear-blades and sticks, spare quivers, diverse suites of ropes, oil, molasses and sand, pots of poisonous snakes, inflammable articles, syringes, water, skins of leopards, oil-cloths, clarified butter and other weapons of war [107]

The chief functions of this department were to supply clothes and arms to those who had lost them Wounded soldiers were sent to the camp to be treated by the physicians and surgeons The same care was taken of the wounded animals Thus the healing of man and beast was another function of this department

According to Megasthenes,[108] Chandragupta's army was controlled by a body consisting of six divisions with five members each One such division was a regular staff of Commissaries This was to co-operate with the superintendent of bullock-trains used for transporting war material, food supplies for the soldiers, provender for the cattle, and other military requisites Under the control of this division were servants who beat the drums or carried gongs, grooms for the horses, mechanics and their assistants, and foragers, to this list must be added physicians, astrologers, etc mentioned in the *Artha-śāstra* [109]

The *Nītiprakāśikā*[110] says that the army was

107 St 3 ff

108 Fg 34

109 चिकित्सका शस्त्रयन्त्रागदस्नेहवस्त्रहस्ता· स्त्रियश्चान्नपानरक्षिण्य पुरुषाणा-मुद्धर्षणीया पृष्ठत तिष्ठेयु || Bk X 3

110 VI 19, 22, 34 ff

generally followed by a select harem, some friendly neighbours, a few suburban inhabitants, financiers, chamberlains, eunuchs, the sick, wounded, maimed and weak, also by the civil officials of the State, by workmen, diggers, carpenters, surveyors, engineers, men acquainted with the field of action, hunters acquainted with forests, and good physicians

The numerous references in our authorities to the Commissariat demonstrate beyond doubt that wars were planned methodically and conducted systematically The importance of the Commissariat to the army was fully recognised from at least the epic period and certainly in the Mauryan epoch To cut off supplies from the opponents became an accepted method of strategy The services of the Commissariat were especially valuable when fortresses were besieged and siege operations were protracted. But the persistence of the camp-following was an element that contributed to the weakness of the army in the long run This was specially seen in the Mughal army system, especially that of Aurangzeb It is said that Sivaji took advantage of this vulnerable point [111]

SECTION VIII

THE ADMIRALTY

Dr V A Smith says that 'the creation of the Admiralty department was an innovation due to the genius of Chandragupta '[112] The Admiralty as a department of the State may have been a creation of Chandragupta but there is evidence to show that the use

111 See S N Sen *The Military System of the Marathas*

112 *Early History of India*, p 133

of ships and boats was known to the people of the *Rg Veda*[113] In the following passage we have reference to a vessel with a hundred oars 'This exploit you achieved, Aśvins in the ocean, where there is nothing to give support, nothing to rest upon, nothing to cling to, that you brought Bhujya, sailing in a hundred-oared ship, to his father's house[114]

Further on in the Veda, this same vessel is described as a *plava*[115] which was storm-proof and which presented a pleasing appearance and had wings on its sides Another reference[116] informs us that Tugra dispatched a fleet of four vessels (Catasro nāvah) among which was the one referred to above We may infer from these passages that the Aśvins were a great commercial people having their home in a far-off island, and that their ruler Tugra maintained a fleet in the interests of his State There are also other references in the *Rg Veda* to show that the ancient Indians were acquainted with the art of navigation For instance, Varuna is credited with a knowledge of the ocean routes along which vessels sailed[117]

The *Baudhāyana Dharmaśāstra* speaks of Samudra-samyānam and interprets it as *nāvā dvīpāntarāgamanam*, i e, sailing to other lands by ships This very term occurs in the nāvādhyakṣa section of the Kautalīya Arthaśāstra[118]

113 I, 17 15

114 Wilson's Trn

115 I 24, 3 5

116 *Ibid*, 6 See also P T Srinivasa Iyengar, *Life in ancient India*, pp 53-54

117 I 6,2,7 Cp *Tait Up Durga Suktam* जातवेदसे सुनुवाम ।

118 Bk II, ch 28

The Purānas have several references to the use of ships and boats The *Mārkandeya Purāna* speaks of vessels tossing about on the sea The *Varāhapurāna* refers to the people who sailed far into the ocean in search of pearls and oysters. The ships floated daily on the shoreless, deep, and fearful waters of the ocean[119] We are on a firm ground when we see in the Andhra period their coins marked with ships The ship building activities were great on the east coast, and the Coromandel coast in particular From this period to about 15th century A D there was a regular intercourse with the islands of the Archipelago most of which were colonised and also with ancient America right across the Pacific as testified to us by the archaeological finds and inscriptions in those parts The Pāli books of Ceylon like the Mahāvamśa refer to ocean going vessels carrying 700 passengers Such frequent intercourse and colonisation through the ages could not have been effected without a powerful fleet

But it is in a later work, the *Yuktikalpataru* of Bhoja, that we have three classes of ships—the Sarvamandira, the Madhyamandira, and the Agramandira The first was called Sarvamandira because it had apartments all round In the Sarvamandira were carried treasures, animals, and ladies of the harem This was the vessel ordinarily used by kings in times of peace The Madhyamandira was so called because the living apartments were situated in the middle It was a sporting vessel and generally used in the rainy season The vessel of the third kind, the Agramandira, took its

119 Quoted in the *Yuktikalpataru,* p 228
चिरप्रवासयात्राया रण काले घनात्यये ।

name from the circumstance that the living room was located in front or at the top of the vessel The Agramandira was used for distant and perilous voyages and also sea-fights[120] There are also in the *Yukti-kalpataru* other references to vessels There are 27 types of ships mentioned here, the largest having the measurement 276 ft × 36 ft × 27 ft weighing roughly 2,300 tons The following passage points to the use of ships in warfare The line *nauhādyam vipadam jñeyam*[121] makes it clear that naval expeditions were common Under the heading of yānam or march mention is made of expeditions by land, water and air We shall examine these later on in detail

From this we may conclude that in ancient India ships were employed in warfare at least as early as the *Rg Vedic* times, though only on a scale which would appear insignificant to-day what with U-boats and submarines But it is an incontrovertible fact that there was a naval department in Mauryan times We have the testimony of Megasthenes that the navy was under a special officer called the Superintendent of Navigation This official was in turn controlled by the Admiralty department The officer whom Megasthenes refers to as Superintendent of Navigation is called *Nāvādhyakṣa* as already seen, in the *Arthaśāstra* The Greek accounts bear testimony to the fact that navigation had attained a very high development at the time of Alexander's invasion, for we are told that the invader was able to secure a fleet from the Punjab at short notice The *Arthaśāstra* lays down some healthy regulations relating

120 P 228, see also R K Mookerjee *Shipping in Ancient India*

121 P 7.

to navigation Vessels which gave trouble or were bound for the enemy's country, or transgressed the regulations of port towns were to be destroyed[122]

A considerable ship building activity is evident on the west coast of India also as noted in the Śangam works of the Tamils South India carried on political and commercial activities as far as the Mediterranean in the early centuries of the Christian era and before The great Ceran Śenguttavan had a fleet under him

Coming to later times we have the account of Hiuen Tsang who notices a fleet of 3,000 sail belonging to the King of Assam There is inscriptional evidence of the possession of a fleet under the Kākatiyas and the Cholas in South India Marco Polo testifies to the huge size and efficient construction of Indian vessels while Yule in his *Cathey* refers to Rajput ships *en route* to China Friar Odoric saw one with 700 passengers Varthema (1503 A D) saw vessels of 1,000 tons burden built at Masulipatam According to Dr Vincent, India built great sized vessels from the time of Agathareids (171 B.C) to the 16th century And no wonder the Portuguese, when they first landed at the west coast were carried away by the excellent India vessels Later still, the Vijayanagara Empire, which had as many as 300 ports,[123] had a powerful fleet The naval commander was styled *Nanyādaprabhu*[124] More of this in the section on naval warfare

122 हिंस्रिका निर्घातयेद्, अमित्रविषयातिगाः पण्यपत्तनचारित्रोपघातिकाश्च ।

Bk II 28

123 Elliot and Dawson, IV p 103

124 *Ep Car* VIII, Sb 468

SECTION IX

CHARACTERISTICS OF A GOOD ARMY

Professors Macdonell and Keith remark that in the Vedic period 'in war the Vaiśya must have formed the bulk of the force under the Ksatriya leaders But like the Homeric commoners, the Vaiśyas may well have done little of the serious fighting, being probably ill provided with either body armour or offensive weapons '[125] They further disagree with Zimmer who advances an untenable theory, from the terms *Śardha, Vrāta* and *Gana,* that the Vedic host fought according to clan (*viś*), village (grāma) and family[126] (Altin Leben, 162) The epic host satisfied the requirements which were prescribed by the *Arthaśāstra* Here the army was composed of the hereditary troops (maula), hired troops (bhrta), soldiers belonging to the corporations (śreni), troops of allies, of enemy and of wild tribes [127] Kautalya enters into a discussion on the relative merits of the army composed of these troops A body of soldiers who are of the same country, caste, and training is a great asset Later on he says that the best army is one recruited from hereditary troops, well disciplined and loyal Next come the hired soldiers who are considered better than the śreni warriors provided they were easily accessible and obedient But the śreni warriors are deemed superior to those of an ally if they are of the locality and share the feelings of their master The volunteers of an ally are better than those coming from an enemy country Even here the army of an enemy led by an Arya is

125 *Vedic Index*, ii, p 334
126 *R V V* 53 11
127 Bk IX, 11

better than that of foresters The last two are to be treated with caution and something like a serpent These constituted the sadangabala of a king and must not be confounded with the sadanga or the sixfold force A State may possess all these six kinds of troops at one and the same time and employ them to advantage The discussion on the relative merits of these different forces should not be understood to imply that only one kind of troops was employed at one and the same time [128]

The *Śukranīti* further describes the characteristics of a good army Here a distinction is made between the standing army and the newly recruited army, the trained army and the untrained army, the efficient army and the inefficient army (sāra and asāra) In short this political treatise envisages two kinds of recruitment—*gulmībhūta* answering to the standing army, and *agulmaka* corresponding to the mercenary troops,[129] though it is not altogether unfamiliar to the other *balas*

128 See also Kāma, 18 2, 25 f, *Manu*, VII, 185

129 सेनाबल तु द्विविध स्वीय मैत्र च तद्द्विधा ।
मौलसाद्यस्कभेदाप्या सारासारं पुनर्द्विधा ॥
अशिक्षित शिक्षित च गुल्मीभूतमगुल्मक ।
दत्तास्त्रादि स्वशस्त्रास्त्र म्ववाहि दत्तवाहनम् ॥
सौजन्यात् साधक मैत्रं स्वीय भृत्या प्रपालित ।
मौल बह्वब्दानुबंधि साद्यस्क यत तदन्यथा ॥
सुयुद्धकामुक सारमसार विपरीतक ।
शिक्षित व्यूहकुशल विपरीतमशिक्षित ॥
गुल्मीभूत साधिकारि स्वस्वामिकमगुल्मकं ।
दत्तास्त्रादि स्वामिना यत् स्वशस्त्रास्त्रमतोऽन्यथा ॥

with the exception of śreṇibala mentioned in the *Kauṭalīya.* This indicates that the śreṇis must have died out as political entities by the time the *Sukranīti* was composed.

In the opinion of the *Kauṭalīya*[130] that was the best army which was composed purely of Ksatriyas, of noble birth, strong-bodied and well-disciplined, with a contented home, ready to march over the roughest tracts and for a considerable length of time, valorous, accustomed to varieties of climate, and hence inured to privations and fatigue, well trained in all arts and modes of warfare, and also in the handling and application of weapons, and which never loses its sense of obedience and loyalty to the King Further, it is said that a standing army recruited from the warrior caste, even though disobedient, is infinitely superior to a force recruited from different classes of people, for the former can be easily conciliated and brought round [131] Kautalya has no confidence in an army composed of Brahmans or even Vaiśyas or Śūdras [132]

कृतगुल्म स्वयगुल्म तद्वच्च दत्तवाहन ।
आरण्यक किरातादि यत् स्वाधीन स्वतेजसा ॥
उत्सृष्टं रिपुणा वापि भृत्यवर्गे निवेशित ।
भेदाधीन कृत शत्रोस्सैन्य शत्रुबल स्मृत ।
उभय दुर्बल प्रोक्त केवल साधक न तत् ॥ IV 7 9 15

130 Bk IX, 2

131 *Ar Śās* Bk VI 1 This is in agreement with the view of Clausewitz who says that military virtue is a quality of standing armies only (Vol I, p 183)

132 *Ar Śās* Bk IX 2, Śānti, 101, where the chief characteristics of the warriors of the different countries are given The South Indians are said to be experts in sword warfare

This raises the question whether soldiers were drawn also from the Brahman caste There is no evidence anywhere that the State itself enlisted these people But if members of this caste volunteered their services, no doubt, they were admitted to the ranks The army of Brahmans, says the *Arthasāstra*, could be won by means of supplication (pranipāta) That of the Vaisyas and Śūdras numerically strong is better than any of Brahmans or untrained Ksatriya hosts There is evidence that Brahmans enjoyed the high position of a general or a commander In the epoch of the imperial Guptas, Kumārāmātya Prthivīsena who was at first a member of the council of Kumāragupta was later on appointed his Commander-in-chief (Mahābalādhikrta) [*Ep Ind* X pp 71-2] In the Epic we find Drona, Aśvatthāma and Krpa as commanders To the Pallava Narasimhavarman I (Mahāmalla) the Brahman Śiru-tondai otherwise known as Parañjoti was the commander-in-chief, who won a victory over Pulakeśin II in 642 A D and captured his capital Vātāpi[133] There is inscriptional evidence of the time of the Cholas of a Brahman military officer named Krsnan Rāman[134] under Rājarāja the Great When we come to the epoch of the Vijayanagara supremacy, we have the evidence of Krsnadevarāya's *Āmuktamālyāda* (canto V, 255, 262) that Brahmans were enlisted more and more for military service They were placed in charge of fortresses and were appointed to lead armies It is said that the king would sleep in peace if Brahmans were in charge of

133 R Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, p 98

134 *S I I* II, Pt V p 13

fortresses and of well-equipped forces[134a] This speaks highly of the loyalty and confidence reposed in them by ruling monarchs An inscription at Tirukkadaiyūr in Tanjore District dated 1521-22 of Krsnarāya shows that leaders of contingent were Brahmans A record No 47 of 1906 mentions the name of a Brahman Apatsahāyan as taking part in wars of the period Even in comparatively late times, we find Brahman Generals in command of armies of their kings, e g, Rama Iyen Dalavai, the great co-adjutor of Mārtānda Varma, the maker of modern Travancore

Did the Brahman lose his social pre-eminence by taking to the profession of arms? According to the *Baudhāyana Dharmaśāstra*, a member of the Brahman caste unable to keep his body and soul together by following his hereditary occupation may take up the profession of arms without prejudice to his svadharma. This receives confirmation from the *Mahābhārata* Some scholars are of opinion that Gautama does not countenance this rule, but the fact is that, in Gautama's opinion, a Brahmana would not be a valuable acquisition to the army, as he is unused to the horrors of war

It will thus be seen that the Ksatriyas formed the rank and file of an army, but that in exceptional times, as during great and sudden calamities, members of other castes were also recruited The inference is that the recruits from other castes generally reverted to their old occupations as soon as circumstances permitted

134a See also Professor K V Rangaswami Aiyangar's paper in *Sir C R Reddi Commemoration Volume*

We have documentary evidence of the highest value in the inscriptions of the Great Cholas to show how an army was organised in the tenth century A.D in South India As many as thirty-one regiments are mentioned in the Tanjore inscriptions [135] Most of these regiments have been called after the surnames or titles of the reigning king or his son —

1 Perundanattu Ānaiyātkal (elephant corps)
2 Pandita Śora-Terinda-Villigal (bowmen)
3 Uttama Śora-Terinda-Andalagattālār
4 Nigarili Śora-Terinda-Udanilai Kudiraich-chevagar (horsemen).
5 Mummadi Śora-Terinda-Ānaippāgar (mahouts)
6 Vīra Śora-Anukkar
7 Parāntaka Kongavālār
8-9 Mummadi Śora, and Keralāntaka Terinda Parivārattār (servants)
10 Mūlaparivāra Vitteru (standing army)
11. Singalāntaka Terinda Parivārattār (servants)
12 Śirudanattu Vadugakkālavar
13 Valangai-Parambadaigalilār
14-27 Perumdanattu, Śirudanattu, Aragiya-śora-terinda, Aridurgalanghana, Chandaparākrama Terinda, Ilaiya Rājarāja Terinda, Kṣatriya Śikhāmani Terinda, Rāja-Nittavinoda Terinda, Rājakanthīrava Mūrtavikramābharana, Rāja Terinda, Rājavinoda Terinda, Ranamukha Bhīma Terinda, Vikramābharana Terinda-Valangai Velaik-

135 *SII*, ii pt I, pp 9 and 10

kārar It is not easy to exactly identify these Velakkāra troops These were largely drawn from the Right Hand classes It is significant that the Left Hand classes do not figure among the regiments which from the extensive nature, seem to be a people's army However that may be what interests us is the term Velakkārar They were probably a volunteer corps as has been suggested, raised temporarily for a certain contingency What is more interesting is that the Velakkāra troops are mentioned in the Mahāvamśa and in the service of King Vijayabāhu (A D 1065-1120) Here they were mercenaries raised with a definite object viz for an expedition against the Chola country In the light of this are we tempted to identify the Velakkārar of Rājarājadeva as mercenaries There is however no evidence of Rājarāja raising mercenary troops His troops were all regular soldiers We therefore agree with the suggestion that originally regulàr troops, these Velakkārar, eventually developed into mercenaries (See S I I II p 10) All were recruited from the Right Hand classes of the kingdom

28-29 Keralāntaka vāsal, and Anukka vāsal Tirumeykāppar (body-guards)

30 Parivāra Meykāppargal

31 Palavagai Parampadaigalilār

Some of these regiments were entrusted with duties other than military, for example, temple-building and

temple musicians It is curious to note that all the eighteen musicians of the temple were recruited from these regiments And twelve of them were from the Velakkāra troops Here is an indication that under the Chola regime the military helped in the great public works of the State, even as the army departments and engineers have been requisitioned in the days of East India Company for the construction of roads, canals and railways

SECTION X

UNITS OF THE ARMY

The Hindu army was divided into Patti, Senāmukha, Gulma, Gana, Vāhinī, Prtanā, Camu, Anīkinī, and Aksauhinī These divisions roughly correspond to our modern battalions, regiments, companies, etc Of these the *patti* meant one chariot, one elephant, three horses and three footmen This was the smallest unit of the army The next was *senāmukha,* the four arms of the patti multiplied by three In this way three *senāmukhas* formed a *gulma,*[136] three *gulmas* one *gana,* three *ganas* one *vāhinī,* three *vāhinīs* one *prtanā,* three *prtanās* one *camu,* three *camus,* one *anīkinī* and ten *anīkinīs* formed one *aksauhinī* An *aksauhinī* consisted of 21 870 chariots, 21,870 elephants, 65,610 horses and 1,09,350 foot-soldiers [137]

In the Udyoga parva of the *Mahābhārata* there is a different enumeration of the army units Mention

136 See Manu's interpretation of Gulma, VII, 190

137 See Amarakośa, II 536-7 There was then the Mahākṣauhinī (*Śiva T R V*, 14 47-63)

is made of *senā*, *pṛtanā* and *vāhinī* *Senā* is a unit constituting 500 chariots, 500 elephants, 1,500 horses, and 2,500 foot-men Ten *senās* constituted a *pṛtanā* and ten *pṛtanās* one *vāhinī*[138] The *Mahābhārata* recounts that the two armies of the Pāndavas and Kauravas on the field of Kuruksetra consisted of eighteen Aksauhinīs of which eleven belonged to the Kauravas and only seven to the Pāndavas[139] In another place it is said that a *patti* totalled 250 men Thrice in number to this was *senāmukha*, and thrice this number constituted *gulma* Three *gulmas* made up a *gana*[140] If we consider dispassionately the numerical strength of the various forces in the epics the figures given strike us as highly incredible The arbitrary reckoning of the different units by the multiples of three is so mechanical that it is on the face of it unacceptable In order to increase the magnitude of the war, the poet has enumerated exaggerated figures It must be admitted, however, that there was a system, a method and a plan in the organisation of the ancient Hindus, and to this extent they deserve commendation[141]

138 *Udyoga* 155 22-24

139 *Ibid*, 27

140 *Ibid*, 28-29

141 In this connexion see S N Sen, *Military Organisation of the Marathas*

CHAPTER V

DEPARTMENTS OF THE ARMY

SECTION I

WAR COUNCIL

In war, as in all other important affairs of state, the ancient Hindu king sought and followed the advice of his ministers. They in their turn employed secret agents, and managed to keep themselves informed of all the events and circumstances of which they had to take account in tendering their counsel.[1] It is remarkable that this was followed up to the twelfth century A.D., as is testified by the *Raṇadīpikā* written for a Kerala king.[2] There is, therefore, justification for the remark that the ancient South Indian kings, who had their own laws of war (as is evident from the Sangam works of Tamil literature), slowly but surely adopted the laws prescribed in early Sanskrit writings. Unaided, it is said, even a skilled monarch gets into difficulties. The aid here referred to is that afforded by ministers.[3] Consultation must be held with not more than three, and the king was to act on the unanimous decision of these

1. Śānti, 83. 51-3.
2. *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, 1928.
3. परीक्षितसहायस्य तिष्ठन्तीह युधिष्ठिर ।
सहाययुक्तेन मही कृत्स्ना शक्या प्रशासितुम् ॥ Śānti 112. 19-20.

three members of the War Council The chief thing deliberated upon was the examination of one's resources as compared with the resources of the enemy[4] The examination of this particular topic is entitled *naya-viveka,* and the policy to be pursued must be rooted in *nīti* Or else even a strong king suffers disgrace at the hands of a weakling like an elephant stuck in the mud by fish[5]

Bhīsma tells Yudhisthira on the authority of the first law-giver, that victory depends on deliberation and intelligence[6] It is an ancient dictum that the king who is guided by sagacious councillors attains great success in his undertakings Again, in the conversation between Indra and Brhaspati, the latter says that only after deliberating with his ministers on the policy to be pursued must the king decide whether to fight or to submit It is better to consult only one minister lest the secret should be divulged, but on special occasions more may also be consulted Unanimity on the part of the councillors is to be desired[7] Rāvana discourses on

4 Ch 1, 21-29 The rules laid down here are only a replica of the rules prescribed in the old law books

5 अतीतिज्ञ समर्थोपि• रिपुणा परिभूयते ।
गजोऽपि चाम्बुधौ मग्नो महामत्स्यैर्यथा तथा ॥ 15

6 वर्तस्व बुद्धिमूलं तु विजय मनुरब्रवीत् ।
बुद्धिश्रेष्ठानि कर्माणि बाहुमध्यानि भारत ॥
तानि जङ्घाजघन्यानि भारप्रत्यवराणि च ।
राज्य तिष्ठति दक्षस्य सगृहीतेन्द्रियस्य च ॥ Śānti, 112, 17-9

7 Śānti, 83 The whole chapter is on mantri and mantra

consultation thus [8] 'Success depends on proper deliberation He is alone the superior king who consults wise men before deciding on war Counsels are of three kinds firstly, those in which the decision of all the councillors is unanimous at the outset secondly, those in which an agreement is reached after a lengthy and protracted debate thirdly, those in which decision is arrived at by mere majority' He followed these

8 *Yuddha*, ch vi 5-15

मन्त्रमूल हि विजय प्राहुराया मनस्विन ।
तस्माद्वै रोचयं मन्त्र राम प्रति महाबला ॥
त्रिविधा पुरुषा लोके उत्तमाधममध्यमा ।
तेषा तु समवेताना गुणदोषौ वदाम्यहम् ।
मन्त्रिभिर्हितसयुक्तै समर्थैर्मन्त्रनिर्णय । मित्रैर्वापि समानार्थैर्बान्धवैरपि वाहितै॥
सहितोमन्त्रयित्वा य कर्मारम्भान्प्रवर्तयेत् । दैवे च कुरुते यत्नं तमाहु पुरुषोत्तमम्॥
एकोर्थं विमृशेदेको धर्मेप्रकुरुते मन । एक कार्याणि कुरुते तमाहुर्मध्यम नरं ॥
गुणदोषावनिश्चित्य त्यक्त्वा धर्मव्यपाश्रय । करिष्यामीति य कार्यमुपेक्षेत्स नराधम ॥
यथेमे पुरुषा नित्यमुत्तमाधममध्यमा । एव मन्त्रा हि विज्ञेया उत्तमाधममध्यमा॥
ऐकमत्यमुपागम्य शास्त्रदृष्टेन चक्षुषा । मत्रिणो यत्र निरतास्तमाहुर्मन्त्रमुत्तमम् ॥
बह्वीरपि मतीर्गत्वा मन्त्रिणामर्थनिर्णये ।
पुन यत्रैकता प्राप्त स मन्त्रो मध्यम स्मृत ॥
अन्योन्य मतिमास्थाय यत्र सप्रति भाष्यते ।
न चैकमत्ये श्रेयोऽस्ति मन्त्र सोऽधमउच्यते ॥
तस्मात्सुमन्त्रित साधु भवन्तो मतिसत्तमा ।
कार्यं सप्रतिपद्यन्तामेतत्कृत्य मतं मम ॥

principles and held counsel with his advisers before embarking on war [9]

Kāmandaka says that the king should consult wise and loyal men versed in military science and grown grey in experience According to him[10] the power of deliberation and ministerial advice is decidedly superior to that of mere brute force He shows how Bṛhaspati by his wisdom overcame the Asuras We know from the Purāṇas how Śukrācārya, the leader of the Asuras, undertook a severe penance to get at the knowledge of *mṛtasañjīvanī* vidyā or the mantra for restoring to life persons who had died in the field of battle, seeing the slaughter of numerous Asuras by the Devas The penance over, Śukra returned to his residence but was not accepted by his followers For in the meantime Bṛhaspati the leader of the Devas put on the disguise of Śukrācārya and placing the Asuras under a spell of mystification made them accept his as the true Śukra, while the real Śukra was made out to be merely one in the disguise of their ācārya In this way he overcame the Asuras [11] Kāmandaka further enjoins that the king should consult his council of ministers whenever envoys were sent out to foreign States The *Harivamśa* relates that Jarāsandha, contrary to his own plan, adopted the suggestion of the king of Cedi, a prominent member of the former's military council

Did the king always follow the counsel of his ministers and councillors? It is difficult to answer this question, but it may be confidently said that the king

9 *Ibid*, ch 13

10 *Kāma* 12 7 13, 1-2 See also *Brahmāndapurāna*, IV 21-50 where the term *vicāra* is mentioned for this

11 *Matsya Purāna* 47 181-205

generally followed the advice of his councillors, and it was more or less his duty to do so There were of course kings who broke this convention and did as their will dictated. It would be sufficient to give one example in support of this statement Duryodhana's War Council included such wise men as Vyāsa and Maitreya [12] These councillors advised Duryodhana to make peace with the Pāndavas, as in their opinion the Pāndavas would ultimately win, but he turned a deaf ear to their words From this it would appear that the Council was merely an advisory body Its resolution was not binding on the king

That such war councils were also held in the battle-field either on the eve of the battle or during the course of operations is seen from the *Harivamśa* [13] When Balarāma and Krsna were wandering on the mountains of Gomanta, Jarāsandha who arrived at its foot held a council to devise steps how best to encounter them In Jarāsandha's opinion, the Generals were to ascend the mountain fortress and confront the enemy on all sides But the king of Cedi, a prominent member of his war staff, spoke on the futility of such endeavours He advised them to set fire to the fortress and thus bring the enemy to his knees This was accepted as a wise policy by all including the king A huge conflagration was the result, though it did not ultimately lead to the subjugation of the enemy In the war between Lalitā and the Asura Bhanda, war councils were summoned on both sides [14] In the epoch of the Mauryas the King-

12 Ch 98

13 Ch 98

14 See *Br Purāna*, IV Ch 21

in-council acted as a war cabinet and appointed secret informants to study the movements of the enemy kings and report the same to the Head-quarters[15] It has to be assumed that the war council was a feature of the Gupta polity considering the nature and value of wars into which the Gupta emperors plunged themselves The term *mantrin* in the Gupta inscriptions as distinct from the Amātya may suggest that the *mantrin* was a member of the war council

Coming to South India in the Vijayanagar period, we have the primary evidence of foreign travellers like Barbosa and Nuniz who testify to the existence of a war council, which the king consulted before undertaking an expedition Barbosa refers to a decision of one such council (p 224) Nuniz mentions the council which Krsnarāya consulted before his march against the Sultan of Bijapur[16] According to Sewell, however, there was no separate war council, apart from the ministers[17]

SECTION II

WAR FINANCE

The special importance of finance in war was recognized even as early as the *Rg Veda*, in a hymn in which Indra is prayed to for the gift of wealth for maintaining an army In the *Mahābhārata* and other treatises of later times, much attention is paid to military finance

15 *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p 287

16 *A Forgotten Empire*, p 72 and pp 324-5

17 For further details see T V Mahalingam's *Society and Administration under Vijayanagar*, ch v

Among the important heads of military expenditure in ancient India were the salaries of the soldiers, officers, and diplomatic agents, the construction and repair of fortifications, and the purchase of military requisites Considerable sums must have been spent as bribes for securing information, fomenting troubles in the enemy territory

If we turn to the pages of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautalya and also to the records of Greek travellers, we find the Mauryan public finance anticipated much of the modern principles regulating revenues and expenditure What Shirras gives in his *Science of Public Finance* is found in the Mauryan system In this classification which is primary and secondary, defence takes its first place under the primary heads Army, navy and trans port were the important items of military expenditure In the *Arthaśāstra*, we find details of the pay of the army from the ordinary soldier to the commander-in-chief (Bk V 3)

* I have followed M H Gopal (*Mauryan Public Finance*, p 195) The equivalent in modern currency is on the calculation of V A Smith who valued the silver *pana* as equal to a shilling If Pliny is to be believed the Mauryan king had a standing army of 600 000 foot-soldiers, 30,000 horse and 9,000 elephants This alone entailed an expenditure roughly of £17,000 000 This does not include the pay of the army officers such as commander-in-chief and commanders, the expenses of the fleet, of the armoury and arsenal of the commissariat, and several minor departments which were so many adjuncts to the Defence department If these were included, we have to estimate the defence expenses of the Mauryan State to be several millions pounds sterling Arrian (Indika, ch 12) tells us that the army officials were all paid very liberally It appears that the Mauryan government believed in a contented army

	Name of officer	Pay in *panas*	Approximate equivalent in pounds sterling
1.	Commander-in-chief	48,000	2,400
2	Commander	24,000	1,200
3	Chiefs of—		
	Elephants	8,000	400
	Horses	8,000	400
	Chariots	8,000	400
	Infantry	8,000	400
4	Superintendents of—		
	Infantry	2,000	100
	Cavalry	2,000	100
	Chariots	2,000	100
	Elephants	2,000	100
5.	Charioteer	2,000	100
	The army surgeon	2,000	100
	The trainer of horses	2,000	100
	Carpenter	2,000	100
	Trainer of other animals	2,000	100
6	Soldier	500	25
	Clerical assistant	500	25
7	Elephant driver	500 to 1,000	25 to 50

In a Basara seal inscription of the Gupta period we meet with a very important term *Ranabhandāgārādhikarana*[18] There is definite evidence that there was a separate accounts officer in charge of the military budget This is a sure indication that by that time a distinction was made between the military budget and the civil budget. Ranabhandāgārādhikarana was the member in charge of military finance

18 Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions* Basrah seals

The *Śukranīti* gives figures relating to the proper apportionment of military expenditure to be incurred. We may take the figures as roughly representative of earlier times as well The following estimate gives, according to the treatise, the proportion of the sums which may be spent on the various items of civil and military expenditure by a State with an income of 100,000 karsas [19]

Items of expenditure (annual) —

1	Personal	18,000	karsas
2	Clerical	1,200	„
3	Council (perhaps executive)	3,600	„
4	Family	3,600	„
5	Men of letters	2,400	„
6	Cavalry and infantry	48,000	„
7	Elephants and other service	4,800	„
8	Savings	18,000	„
	Total	99,600	„

Further, we are told that a State which has the same annual income is expected to have the following military establishment —[20]

1	Reserve Soldiers	100
2	Infantry men with guns	300
3	Cavalrymen	80
4	Chariots	3
5	Guns	2
6	Camels	10
7	Elephants	2

19 *Śukra*, IV, 7, 27-29

20 *Ibid*, IV, 7, 24-26

8.	Bulls	16
9	Clerical staff	6
10	Higher officers	3

From the figures[21] we see that military expenditure was a little more than 50% of the total expenditure of the State It may appear at first sight that the high proportion of military expenditure to the total income is an indication of a heavy burden on the people But it was not so felt, since defence and protection were the most fundamental among the functions of the State

An idea of the scale of salaries and allowances to armies had been already furnished The importance of regular payment of salaries to soldiers and officers is insisted on by the *Arthaśāstra* writers Nārada repeatedly speaks to Yudhisthira of its advantages[22] Śukrācārya recommends a handsome pay to the soldiers, besides occasional allowances He says that accurate records with full details as to the caste, age, district, village, station, period of service, amount of pay and allowances of the soldiers and officers are to be maintained full pay should be given to those who have completed the practical course of training and half pay to the apprentices[23] The case of the soldiers

21 Cp *Niti*, p 85

22 *Mhb Sabhā*, V, 48-54

23 सायप्रात मैनिकाना कुर्यात् सङ्गणन नृप ।
जात्याकृतिवयोदेशग्रामवासान् विमृश्य च ॥
काल भृत्यवधि देय दत्त भृत्यस्य लेखयेत् ।
कति दत्त हि भृत्येभ्यो वेतनं पारितोषिकम् ॥
तत्प्राप्तिपत्र गृह्णीयाद्द्याद्वेतनपत्रकम् ॥

recruited from the wild tribes was different These soldiers were either paid in raw produce or permitted to indulge in plunder[24] Trumpet-blowers and servants were paid each 120 *panas*

Judged by the then existing standards, when wants were comparatively few and simple, the scale should be put down as liberal But there is evidence to show that this must have varied according to time and place, and that no uniform scale of salary was ever in vogue It would appear that the pay was proportionate to and dependent upon the economic condition of the times Revision of scales according to the fall or rise of prices was effected. These statements are made in the light of a text in the *Mahābhārata*[25] where the pay of a warrior is mentioned as 1,000 coins per month, whilst in the days of Kautalya it was a little more than 40 *panas* The importance of this high salary can be realised if we keep in mind the conditions under which the Mauryas and afterwards the Guptas extended the limits of their empires by incessant encounters with the non-monarchical and republican States These required a strong force ever devoted to the king, and the result was a heavy military expenditure Compared with the scale of Kautalya, Śukrācārya's must be considered very low Not only was the pay low but the soldiers were made to bear the expenses of their clothing[26] One thing must

सैनिकाश्शिक्षिताये ये तेषु पूर्णा भृतिस्स्मृता ।
व्यूहाभ्यासे नियुक्ता ये तेष्वर्धां भृतिमावहेत् ॥

IV, 7 391-3, *Nīti*, VI, 313

24 *Ar Śās.* Bk IX, ch 11

25 *Sabhā*, 85 29

26 IV, 7 20-21

be remembered in this connexion Śukra's concept of the State is that of a small State, while Kautalya envisages an empire (*cakravartikṣetra*)[27]

That the army expenditure was looked upon not as wasteful but necessary is seen even from the practice of the later Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara The *Amuktamālyada* of Kṛṣṇadevarāya makes a statement to that effect (Canto IV, 262) Elsewhere (238) it definitely states that half the income accruing to the State should be set apart to maintain the army According to Barbosa the pay of a soldier was 4 pardaos, i e Rs 22½ to Rs 28, and that of a high officer Rs 47,000[28]

One item of expenditure on the military side was war relief to the relatives of deceased soldiers and their dependents An undated *viragal* belonging to the 9th century in the Durga temple at Hosaholalu near Bayakura records the giving of such relief to the relatives of dead soldiers[29] In the Kanarese inscriptions, again, the term *kalnattu* (also kalnād) stands for some such war relief[30] We meet with a significant term in the Vijayanagar inscriptions, *Raktakodage*, which proves that war relief generally took the form of assignment of lands by the State to the family of soldiers who died in the service of the king

War loans Funds for military purposes were raised in exceptional circumstances The *Mahābhārata*[31]

27 *Ar Śās*, Bk IX 1

28 See Sewell, op cit, p 283

29 181 of 1901, *S I I*, vii, p 245

30 *Ep Car* XII, p 111.

31 परचक्राभियानेन यदि ते स्याद्धनक्षय ।
अथ साम्नैव लिप्सेथा धनमब्राह्मणेषु यत् ॥ Śānti 71-2

says that in the face of sudden attacks and in the absence of the necessary wealth in the treasury, a king can appropriate part of the private property of his wealthy citizens by levying more taxes From the same source we learn that the people who could really afford it voluntarily contributed towards the expenses of a war, for it was realised that in the safety of the king or kingdom lay, the safety of the subjects Sometimes recourse was had to loans by the State and these were returned after the danger was over The appeal to funds[32] was made in the least offensive but most con

प्रचार भृत्यभरण व्यय सग्रामतो भयम् ।
योगक्षेम च सप्रेक्ष्य गोमिन कारयेत्करम् ॥
तस्माद्गोमिषु यत्नेन प्रीति कुर्याद्विचक्षण ।
दयावानप्रमत्तश्च करान्सप्रणयन्मृदून् ॥ *Ibid*, 87 35-39

32 प्रागेव तु धनादानमनुभाष्य तत पुन ।
सन्निपत्य स्वविषये भय राष्ट्रे प्रदर्शयेत् ।
इयमापत्समुत्पन्ना परचक्रभय महत् ।
अपि चान्ताय कल्पन्ते वेणोरिव फलागमा ॥
अरयो मे समुत्थाय बहुभिर्दस्युभि सह ।
इदमात्मवधायैव राष्ट्रमिच्छन्ति बाधितुम् ॥
अस्यामापदि घोरया सप्राप्ते दारुणे भये ।
परित्राणाय भवत प्रार्थयिष्ये धनानि व ॥
प्रतिदास्ये च भवता सर्वं चाहं भयक्षये ।
नारय प्रतिदास्यन्ति यद्धरेयुर्बलादित ॥
कलत्रमादित कृत्वा सर्वं वो विनशेदिति ।
शरीरपुत्रदारार्थमर्थसचय इष्यते ॥

vincing style In these ways the State secured the sum necessary to tide over the crisis [33]

SECTION III

THE ARSENAL

In dealing with the military organization in ancient India, mention must be made of the arsenal (*āyudhāgāra*) The Kautalīya has a chapter on this [34] There was a special superintendent over this department, which also went by the name of Śastraśāla According to the *Visnudharmottara Purāna,* whose date of composition is not yet established, the superintendent was known as *Śastraśālādhyaksa* or merely *Śastrādhyaksa* He should be loyal, vigilant, and able in the discharge of his duties His chief ability consisted in discriminating the five kinds of weapons [35] The chief business tran-

नन्दामि व प्रभावेण पुत्राणामिव चोदये ।
यथाशक्त्युपगृह्णामि राष्ट्रस्यपीडया च व ॥
आपत्स्वेव निवोढव्य भवद्भि सगतैरिह ।
न व प्रियतर कार्यं धन कस्याचिदापदि ॥
इनि वाचा मधुरया श्लक्ष्णया सोपचारया ।
स्वरश्मीनभ्यवसृजेद्योगमाधाय कालवित् ॥ Śānti 87, 26-34

33 आपदर्थं च निचयान्राजानो हि विचिन्वते ।
राष्ट्र च कोशभूत स्यात्कोशो वेश्मगतस्तथा ॥
पौरजानपदान्सर्वान्संश्रितोपाश्रितास्तथा ।
यथाशक्त्यनुकम्पेत सर्वान्स्वल्पधनानपि ॥ Śānti, 87 23-24

34 *Ar Śās* Bk II 18.

35 Quoted in Laksanaprakāśa (Vīramitrodaya), pp 224-5.

sacted by this department was the manufacture of arms and armour and other accessories Here again skilled workmen and mechanics of all grades were employed at fixed wages to do the work

Various kinds of weapons were manufactured and kept in proper places These weapons included armaments used in war in defending or destroying buildings, forts, and citadels These consisted of movable engines, of which twenty-six varieties are mentioned. Five kinds of arrows and four kinds of bows with their various accessories were produced Again, eleven varieties of *halāmukha* (ploughshare),[36] three kinds of swords with various types of handles,[37] seven kinds of razorlike weapons,[38] four or five kinds of stones[39] are given To these was added the manufacture of a variety of armour of iron and leather, both for war animals and for the warrior Ornaments for animals and chariots, goads and hooks and other appliances were also made and kept in stock Kautalya prescribes various rules[40] with regard to the storage of weapons and armour They were to be frequently examined, cleaned and exposed to the light of the sun Weapons liable to be damaged by heat or cold or even by worms were to be kept with

36 शक्तिप्रासकुन्तहाटकभिण्डिवालशूलतोमरवराहकर्णकणयकर्पणत्रासिकादीनि च हलमुखानि । *Ar Śās Ibid*

37 निस्त्रिंशमण्डलाग्रासियष्टय खड्गा । *Ibid*

38 परशुकुठारपट्टसखनित्रकुद्दालचक्रकाण्डच्छेदना क्षुरकल्पा । *Ibid*

39 यन्त्रगोष्पणमुष्टिपाषाणरोचनीदृषदश्चायुधानि । *Ibid*

40 *Ar Śās* Bk II 18

particular care Registers were to be maintained in which were entered details as to the shape, size, value, number, and name of every weapon manufactured and distributed And it was for the Superintendent, who may be equated with the modern Master of Supply, to see that an adequate number of weapons and other implements of war was always kept in stock

Bhīsma says[41] that kings desirous of victory should manufacture a variety of arms and armour both for animals like elephants and bulls, and for soldiers The armour for animals must be made of durable leather so as to afford protection against cuts or thrusts from bones, thorns, or other keen-edged objects The arms consisted of well-tempered iron weapons of all sorts and sizes It is also said that swords, lances, standards of different hues, coats of mail, yak tails, banners, battle-axes, spears, shields, bells and other instruments were to be made in enormous quantities and housed in their respective places in the store room

The *Milindapañha* mentions three separate industries dealing with the manufacture of bows, arrows, and other weapons of warfare [42]

41 गजाना पार्थं वर्माणि गोवृषाजगराणि च ।
शल्यकण्टकलोहानि तनुत्राणि मतानि च ॥
शातपीतानि शस्त्राणि सन्नाहाः पीतलोहकाः ।
नानारञ्जनरक्ताः स्युः पताकाः केतवश्च ह ॥
ऋष्टयस्तोमरा खङ्गा निशिताश्च परश्वधाः ।
फलकान्यथ चर्माणि प्रतिकल्प्यान्यनेकशः ॥ Śānti 100 7-9

42 *CHI*, i p 205

The compiler of the *Agnipurāna* realised the necessity for a good and well furnished armoury According to him an empty arsenal is itself an indication of the deficient system of defence, thus implying that for a king to offer a strong front to the enemy a good supply of arms is essential In conclusion, the arsenal was a department of the State and no individual or firm could manufacture arms

SECTION IV

FOREIGN DEPARTMENT

From the inter-tribal relations of earliest times the evolution was to inter-state relations and finally to international relations The early epoch of the Vedas bears evidence of inter-tribal relations It is therefore impossible to trace in Vedic literature anything like a separate war department That such a department existed in the epic age—the age of inter-state relations—is again a matter of inference We have no express mention of a foreign department either in the *Rāmāyana* or in the *Mahābhārata* The conception of a circle of states which is so elaborately described in the Kautalīya would mean the existence of an elaborate foreign office to realize the ends of the state This receives corroboration from the records of Megasthenes During the epoch of the Guptas there was a foreign office The office of the foreign minister was distinct from that of the minister of peace In the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta there occurs the term, *Sandhivigrahika,* besides *Saciva* The first was a minister of peace and war, and the second was an officer superior to Sandhivigrahika Harisena was foreign minister to the

emperor Samudragupta.[43] Candragupta II also had a minister for foreign affairs

The keynote of foreign policy was the maintenance of the balance of power Students of English History will recall to their minds the reign of Henry VIII, whose famous foreign minister, Thomas Wolsey, pursued a similar policy in dealing with continental powers This power was realised in ancient India by the excellent device of forming a circle of states Ancient India was composed of a number of small states, each with a chieftain or a king at its head Most of these were military chiefs and some of them stood in terms of subordinate alliance Their relations were international in the sense that the obligations between one State and another were all matters of special covenant agreed to by the sovereign authority in each In this respect it resembles the political conditions of ancient Greece George Grote, the historian, writes[44] "The relation between one city and another was an international relation, not a relation subsisting between members of a common political aggregate" This means that an Athenian citizen could not contract inter-marriage or acquire landed property in the next city of Corinth A similar state of affairs prevailed in ancient India Foreign affairs seemed to have been carried out on the principle, "never despise an enemy nor trust a friend," which is preached also in Buddhist works like the Jātakas[45]

43 Fleet *Corpus*, 46 Cp Śānti 85 30, *Agni Purāna* 239 8

44 Vol III p 259

45 Vol II, p 165

If the officials who manned the ship of the foreign office had not possessed the requisite strength and will, the working of the above policy in actual practice could not have been realised

SECTION V

INTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT

The Intelligence Department can well be taken to be a sub-department of the War Office The employment of intelligencers and spies for both civil and military purposes was a regular feature in ancient Indian States These men were set to reconnoitre the enemy country and report to the king on the military strength of the enemy, furnish information as to suitable sites for camps and battle-fields The chief officials of this department were ambassadors and spies In a subsequent chapter these will be treated separately and elaborately The ambassadorial system and the system of espionage, especially the latter, must have cost the State a good deal The documents mention a number of spies constantly in service, in and outside the State, besides regular institutes of espionage of which as many as five types are mentioned Hence the establishment charges incurred by the State on these two institutions must have amounted to a considerable sum The Cāras or spies attained so much importance that, in one place, in the *Mahābhārata* they figure as one of the eight angas of an army[46] In the earlier śloka it is said that Cāra is vividhopāya,[47] meaning that he takes different disguises

46 Śānti 58 41 Both terms Cara and Cāra are used

47 *Ibid*, 34 See also *Agni Purāna* 241 12

to find out correct information about the position of the enemies of the king

SECTION VI

ARMY OFFICERS

From the epoch of the *Rg Veda Samhitā* the Commander-in-Chief occupied a place very nearly equal to that of the king Under a confederacy of tribes, the office of the General, the Great War Soldier ' makes its first appearance The office sprang from the military necessities of society and had a logical development from the great War Soldier of the Iroquois through the Teacth of the Aztecs, to the Basileus of the Grecian and the Rex of the Roman tribes, among all of whom, the office was the same, namely that of a general in a military democracy [48] In Vedic literature he is known as *senānī* He often assisted the Vedic king who led the host in person to the battle-field There was another military official, the *grāmanī*, who was probably in charge of a minor portion of the host [49] The Senānī tops the list of the Ratnins or recipients of Ratnahavis who in Vedic times were Rājakṛts or king-makers [50] It is not possible to accept fully the view that the *grāmanī* was the leader of a troop He was probably more a civil than a military officer In the Buddhist literature the Senānī is a member of the Astakula

48 Morgan *Ancient Society*, pp 149-50

49 *C H I*, Vol I, p 95

50 *Śat Br* V, 3-1 *Tait Sam* 1-8-9, K P Jayaswal *Hindu Polity*, ii pp 16 ff, Ghoshal *Hindu Political Theories*, p 38

When we pass on to the epoch of the Epics, we notice a slight change in the title The Senāni becomes the Senāpati[51] Next to him in rank were Senāpranetaras[52] Each of these was the commander of one Aksauhinī In the battle of Kuruksetra, Drupada, Virāta and Dhrstadyumna, Śikhandin, Sātyaki, Cekitāna, and Bhīmasena were respectively leaders of the seven aksauhinīs of the Pāndava host From among themselves one was selected by the War Council to be Commander-in-Chief A great discussion ensued, and finally Dhrstadyumna was chosen On the other side Bhīsma became the senāpati[53] The election of the senāpati over, it was the practice of the elected candidate to address a few words to the War Council presided over by the king Bhīsma's address to the War Council of Duryodhana may be cited as an illustration He says "I offer my prayers to Devasenāpati Subrahmanya and accept with pleasure the responsibility of the chief commander thrown upon me to-day Being versed in the art and science of war I know how to direct soldiers of different grades, bhrtan and abhrtan Know me to be Brhaspati in both strategical and tactical modes of warfare I am versed in all kinds of military arrays, Daiva, Gāndharva, and Mānusa I shall use them against the Pāndavas Oh! King, give up all fear I shall fight the enemy and protect your army Let thy heart's fever be dispelled"[54]

51 Śānti 85 31

52 *Udyoga Parva*, 151 5

53 *Ibid* 151 3-8 and 156 10-13

54 नमस्कृत्य कुमाराय सेनान्ये शक्तिपाणये ।
अह सेनापतिस्तेऽद्य भविष्यामि न सशय ॥

Once elected General, the senāpati had full and complete control over the situation. The direction of the campaigns, encountering and withdrawing, were all in his hands. It would appear that he had his own war cabinet in which his immediate lieutenants were members. Thus we notice in the *Rāmāyana* that Prahasta, the senāpati of the Rāksasa host, had four sacivas—Narāntaka, Kumbhahanu, Mahānāda and Samunnata—who were also his lieutenants in the battle-field.[55]

Though the designation of senāpati continued to be used in later times, it came to be loosely applied to military officials other than the Commander-in-Chief. For example, Kautalya speaks of a Nāyaka as the head of ten senāpatis. Surely the term senāpati here cannot mean Commander-in-Chief. At the same time, he fixes the pay of the senāpati at 48,000 panas, and that of the Nāyaka at 12,000. Surely the Senāpati here stands for Commander-in-Chief. The term is used largely and loosely in the Gupta and Pāla inscriptions.[56] In an

सेनाकर्मण्यभिज्ञोऽस्मि व्यूहेषु विविधेषु च ।
कर्म कारयितु चैव भृतानप्यभृतास्तथा ॥
यात्रायाने च युद्धे च तथा प्रशमनेषु च ।
भृशं वेद महाराज यथावेद बृहस्पति ॥
व्यूहाना च समारम्भान्दैवगान्धर्वमानुषान् ।
तैरहं मोहयिष्यामि पाण्डवान्व्येतु ते ज्वर ॥
सोऽह योत्स्यामि तत्त्वेन पालयस्तव वाहिनीम् ।
यथावच्छास्त्रतो राजन् व्येतु ते मानसो ज्वर· ॥ *Ibid*, Ch 165, 7-11

55 *Yuddha* 57, 30-31, 58, 19

56 Fleet *Corpus*, pp 167-8

inscription we meet with the epithet *Mahāsenāpati*,[57] and this may lend support to the view that by senāpati we may not altogether mean the General-in-Chief

The qualifications expected of a Commander-in-Chief were many-sided He was normally a Ksatriya Sometimes members of the Brahman caste were chosen to fill that responsible post Pusyamitra Śunga was the Senāpati of the last Maurya king, Brhadratha Generally persons who were versed in the Vedas and equally proficient in the practice of arms were appointed Though Vaiśyas and Śūdras were debarred, still Śukra would select this officer from any caste, if he happened to be a śūra or a great hero[58] Other qualifications were as follows 'A native of the land, versed in the theory and practice of counsel, in dandanīti, possessing virtuous qualities of heroism, energy and manliness, large-hearted and generous, a student of the śāstras, one who has few or no enemies but many friends and relatives, self-confident, and of towering personality, one fully acquainted with the actions of the four-fold forces, of spies and scouts, skilled in all modes of warfare, one who is a linguist, and who has travelled to foreign countries and fully acquainted with the routes and roads therein a diplomat, one who evokes confidence from his own troops, one who can fight the enemy and protect his own army, who is able to detect fraud and disguises of spies and messengers, and ever loyal to his country '[59] Weighed by strategic considerations, he must be able to

57 *Ibid*, p 252

58 सेनापतिश्शूर एव योज्यस्सर्वासु जातिषु । II 434

59 *Kāma* 18, 26 42, 19, 31-40

order either advance or retreat[60] To these the *Śiva Tattva Ratnākara* adds 'economical in expenditure'[61]

The senāpati shouldered heavy responsibilities He was answerable to the king and his council Victory or defeat rested with him On the eve of the outbreak of hostilities, the Commander-in-Chief brought full satisfaction to the army by rewards and honours and encouraged them thus 'He who slew the enemy king would be awarded one lac of panas, he who slew the senāpatī and kumāra, 50,000 panas, and he who slew other chiefs 10,000 panas and for slaying an elephant or chariot warrior 5,000 panas'[62] It was an additional inducement for the warriors to fight to the end

In the same strain Bhīsma speaks to Yudhisthira Gathering together the leading warriors, they should be addressed thus 'Those of your warriors who break the ranks of enemies or rally your retreating soldiers should have their pay doubled and should be honoured by you with food, drink, and seats equal to your own The head of ten soldiers amongst them should be made the head of a hundred And the careful hero who is the head of a hundred soldiers should be made the head of a thousand Let us swear to conquer and never leave one

60 *Ar Śās*, Bk X, 3

61 V 15 57-9

62 शतसाहस्रो राजवध । पञ्चाशत्साहस्र सेनापतिकुमारवध ।
दशसाहस्र प्रवीरमुख्यवध । पञ्चसाहस्रो हस्तिरथवध ।
साहस्रोऽश्ववध । शत्य पत्तिमुख्यवध ।
शिरो विशतिकम् । भोगद्वैगुण्य स्वयग्राहश्च इति ॥ *Ar Śās* Bk XI, 3

another "[63] In other words, 'Conquer or die, and conquer we must' was the slogan The prospects of promotion and honours was a great inducement for the sacrifice on the part of the patriotic and brave soldier

Thus the Commander-in-Chief, differently known as Pradhāna Senāpati, Sarvasenāpati and Mahāsenāpati, was the head of the military department of the State In the Vijayanagar epoch he was known as the Sarva-sainyādhikāri His primary duty lay[64] in attending to the training and efficient organisation of the army and in enforcing discipline Though he was invested with the status of a high minister, he was not a member of the council, if we are to rely on the authority of the *Nīti-vākyāmrta*[65] and the *Śukranīti* where this officer does not figure in the list of ministers He occupied the key position in a campaign and his success or defeat decided the fate of the engagement Hence it is ruled that the soldier who killed a Commander-in-Chief, or captured him alive, would earn the name of a hero and would be entitled to all honours [66]

63 अनीक ये विभिन्दन्ति भिन्न सस्थापयन्ति च ।
समानाशनपानास्ते कार्या द्विगुणवेतना ॥
दशाधिपतय कार्या शताधिपतयस्तथा ।
तत सहस्राधिपति कुर्याच्छूरमतन्द्रितम् ॥
यथा मुख्यान्सन्निपात्य वक्तव्या सशपामहे ।
यथा जयार्थं सग्रामे न जह्याम परस्परम् ॥

Śānti 100, 30-32 (Trans Dutt)

64 Cp the *Visnudharmottara* quoted in *Laksanaprakāsa*, pp 233 f

65 Ch X

66 Śānti 98 68 9

It is pertinent to ask whether the Commander-in-Chief was a permanent officer of the State, or was appointed whenever a war broke out and held office to the end of that campaign. Evidence is in favour of both Bhīsma and Dhrstadyumna, generalissimos respectively of the Kaurava and Pāndava hosts, were appointed by the war council on the eve of the Kuruksetra battle and relinquished their offices after the campaign was over But Kautalya makes him a permanent officer on a pay of 48,000 panas This shows that both practices were in vogue in ancient India

The Kumāra As the State grew in power, extent, and importance, a regular hierarchy of officers featured the army organization In early times, along with the king and the Senāni went the Kumāra or Crown Prince to the field of battle In the legendary description of the battle of Bhanda with Lalitā, it is said that Kumārī, a daughter of Lalitā, accompanied her and offered to fight the Asura host, though she was young She fought and won it [67] It is doubtful whether the Kumāra occupied a status higher or lower than the Senāni in the hierarchical grade of military officials A recent writer takes the view that the position of the Kumāra was probably inferior to that of the senāpati, for in the passage of Kautalya[68] Kumāra is mentioned after the Commander-in-Chief [69] This view may be adopted in the light of the scale of salaries fixed for the Kumāra which is one-fourth of that fixed for the Senāpati The pay of the Kumāra was 12,000 panas, but the *Nīti-*

67 *Br Purāna*, IV, ch 26

68 Bk X, 3

69 H C Ray, *op cit*, pp 58-59

prakāśa assigns to the Commander-in-Chief a rank below the Crown Prince

Saciva A noted member of the War Office was the Saciva A number of Sacivas formed the War Council of a Commander-in-Chief Reference has already been made to the Sacivas of Prahasta in the Rāmāyana[70] Besides tendering advice on the movements and operations of their army, they accompanied him to the battle-field and seconded his actions, just like the Purohita seconding the efforts of the king In the fight of Lalitā with the Asura Bhanda, her army was composed of women who went by the name of Śaktis. Lalitā had two important officers, Śrīdandanāthā, the chief Commander, and Śrīmantrinātha or simply Mantrinī The latter analysed the situation of the army as well as that of the enemy then and there, and reported to her chief, Lalitā She also advised her as to the course of action to be taken Lalitā invariably followed her advice, which was given in consultation with the Dandanāthā The Mantrinī even took part in the actual operations of the war[71]

A Saciva was probably the chief minister of peace and war,[72] who is known in later inscriptions as Sandhivigrahika According to the Udayagiri inscription of Candragupta II Saciva Vīrasena, who was the Minister of Peace and War, also accompanied the king to the battle-field[73] Only a highly qualified person was

70 *Yuddha*, 57, 31

71 See *Br Purāna*, IV, ch 26

72 See *Śukra*, pp 78-79, *Śānti*, 59, 67-8, *Manu*, VII, 160-61, *Agni Purāna*, 220, 3-5

73 Fleet, pp 35-36

appointed as Sandhivigrahika He should be well versed in all aspects of Sādgunya, expert in all languages of his country and above all skilled in the modes of policy (naya), a term of much political importance in Hindu political literature [74]

OTHER OFFICERS

The schedule of military officers was, by no means uniform According to one calculation the Pattipāla was the leader of 5 or 6 foot-soldiers The Gaulmika was the head of thirty footmen Both these officials also supervised watchmen especially on night duty. Both Śatānīka and Anuśatika are said to be leaders of one hundred warriors The Anuśatika must have been an intermediary official between the Śatānīka and the Gaulmika Sahasrānīka was the officer in charge of 1,000 foot-soldiers, and Ayuktika of 10,000 warriors All these officers belonged to the infantry corps The Śatānīka had the additional function of drilling soldiers in military exercises both in the morning and in the evening [75] According to the *Śukranīti* the Nāyaka was in charge of twenty elephants or twenty horses In the Vijayanagar epoch he was known Sarvasainyādhikāri, while a minister of war, was known as a Dalavay [76] All the officials were distinguished by appropriate uniforms

In the *Mahābhārata* we see another schedule of military officers There were officers in charge of a platoon of ten, a troop of a hundred, and a battalion of

74 *Visnudhar*, quoted in *Laksanaprakāśa*, p 231

75 *Sukra*, II, 137-48 See Dikshitar *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p 311

76 *Ep Car*, XI, Dv 29

a thousand men,[77] corresponding to modern sergeants, captains, colonels, etc The *Arthaśāstra* seems to follow the epic in this particular, when it speaks of a Padika in charge of ten soldiers, of ten Padikas being under a Senāpati, and ten Senāpatis under a Nāyaka [78] But there is a considerable difference between the epic and the *Arthaśāstra* The latter furnishes a scientific division of the officers into grades The Senāpati was not in charge of 100 soldiers, as the epic would have it But he was in charge of Padikas In the same way the Senāpatis were answerable to the Nāyaka This is a graded system of officials quite workable in practical administration

It seems more reasonable to suppose that there was an officer in charge of every unit of the army The Pattipa or Pattipāla was an officer in charge of a patti, which consisted of one elephant, one chariot, one horse, and five footmen Next was the military officer in charge of a Senāmukha, which had a total of thirty, of which 15 were foot-soldiers The Gulmapa or Gaulmika was the leader of 90 men, 45 of whom were infantry, 27 were cavalry men, and 9 in charge of elephants and of chariots Next came the officer who was the leader of a gana of 270 men Next in rank was the Vāhinīpati who was in charge of 81 elephants, the same number of chariots, 243 horsemen, and 405 foot-soldiers The *Rāmāyana*[79] in one place calls Prahasta, Rāvana's

77 Śānti, 100, 32

78 अङ्गदशकस्यैक पति पदिक । पदिकदशकस्यैक सेनापति तद्दश-कस्यैको नायक इति ॥ Book X 6

79 *Yuddha* 57-12

General, Vāhinīpati Perhaps he was elevated to the rank of Generalissimo on the eve of the Rāma-Rāvana yuddha Above the Vāhinīpati was the officer in charge of the unit that went by the name of Prtana consisting of 2,430 warriors Still above him in rank was the Camūpati in charge of 729 chariots and elephants, 2,187 horsemen, and 3,645 infantry Among the military officials who figure in the Gupta inscriptions is one Camūpa, equated with Dandabhinātha Perhaps this was the officer in charge of the Camu unit of the army Above the Camūpa was the officer in charge of Anīkinī, and still above him in rank was the army officer who was the leader of an aksauhinī This officer is styled Senā prenatara in the *Mahābhārata* There is no authority in our literary works to warrant such a gradation of officers But we have ventured to conjecture that a similar grade of officers over the different units of the army existed in ancient India

It we analyse the mass of Gupta inscriptions we notice different grades of military officers These are Senāpati, Mahāsenāpati, Balādhyaksa or Balādhikrta, and Mahābalādhyaksa or Mahābalādhikrta It is difficult to assign any graded rank to these four offices From the commentary of Kullūkabhatta on Manu[80] it can be gathered that a Balādhyaksa was the controlling officer of ten senāpatis Besides, there were the commandants of infantry and cavalry (Bhataśvapati) and of elephants (Katuka)[81] We have already noticed the Camūpa and Ranabhāndāgārādhikarana Another officer belonging to the War Office was Sandhivigraha

80 VII, 189

81 For some of these terms see *Harṣacarita*

or Mahāsandhivigrahika The latter is equated with Dūtaka But until more satisfactory evidence is found, this equation will remain tentative and cannot be accepted as conclusive But it is more reasonable to make Sandhivigrahika answer to our modern Foreign Secretary The literal meaning of the term connotes that he was the Minister of Peace and War Apparently Mahāsandhivigrahika was the President of the War Office

Thus we notice that with the passage of time the department of war grew, and if the Greek reports are to be relied upon, the organisation reached its perfection in the epoch of the Mauryas.[82] According to Megasthenes as we have seen, the control and the organisation of the army and navy were under an efficient staff of six boards consisting of 30 Commissioners in all Five members constituted each board. The boards were in charge of cavalry, infantry, elephants, chariots, admiralty, and commissariat Most of the offices continued to remain the same though different designations were given to them in different periods

SECTION VII

NON-MILITARY OFFICERS

Besides the various military officials there were other officers and servants who were non-combatants but were attached to the War Office of the army on the march, especially the department of transport and co-ordinate supply There was first the Purohita[83] who

82 *The Mauryan Polity*, pp 193-4   83 *AV* Bk X, 18

went with the king to the field of battle accompanied by astrologers and soothsayers Most of these were experts in Atharvan lore and consequently in reading bird-omens and other impending portents In order to prevent misfortune, propitiatory ceremonies were gone through The Purohita encouraged the soldiers on the eve of the battle and inspired them with new spirit and enthusiasm[84] In his eloquent and spirited address he compared the war to an yajña or a sacrifice Just as those who performed yajñas reached heaven, so also, it was pointed out, that soldiers who gave up their lives in the sacrifice of war attained vīrasvarga to enjoy heavenly bliss This had the desired effect of rousing soldiers to continuous action on the battlefield The Saciva, again, was a non-combatant officer who went to the field of action with the king He was there to tender advice whenever it was necessary Physicians, surgeons, carpenters, and other artisans came under this category of non-combatant officials They had their respective duties to perform either in camp or during the march There was also the Mahānasa the head-cook in charge of rations and food supply There were again war musicians with their drums and gongs to encourage the troops to fight with greater vigour and energy Yet another official was the Praśāsta[85] who was in charge of sappers, miners and engineers (Vardhaki and Visti) These marched in advance, repairing roads and digging wells wherever necessary for the use of the army The

84 *Ar Śās* Bk III, 3

85 पुरस्तादध्वन सम्यक् प्रशास्ता ग्रहणानि च ।
यायाद् वर्धकिविष्टिभ्यामुदकानि च कारयेत् ॥ Bk X, 1

Praśāsta was also engaged in raising or pulling down fortifications and in erecting camps

CONCLUSION

Thus the ancient Indian organisation of the army was efficient and excellent[86] If it was not efficient, would it have been possible for Candragupta Maurya to expel the Macedonian chieftains from India, and to defeat Seleukos, for Bindusāra to effect the conquest of the Dekkan and South India, for Aśoka to maintain diplomatic alliances with forest tribes and far-off nations, for Samudragupta to make a *digvijaya* of all India and for Harsa to conquer and maintain a vast empire?

86 Speaking of the military organisation of Candragupta Maurya, V A Smith remarks "It shows no trace of Hellenic influence It is based on ancient Indian model and his vast host was merely a development of the considerable army maintained by the kingdom of Magadha" (*Early History of India*, p 153).

CHAPTER VI

STRATEGY AND TACTICS IN WAR

SECTION I

INTRODUCTORY

We have already seen that ancient Hindu wars were generally of two kinds—Dharmayuddha and Kūṭa-yuddha, just and unjust wars This is an arbitrary division from both the moral and religious standpoints Another division, we have noticed, was three-fold—*dharmavijaya, asuravijaya* and *lobhavijaya* Yet another division was daiva, mānusa and āsura, according to the weapons used. Here daiva and āsura seem to some extent to belong to the realm of mythology The devāsura wars come under this head Men of the epic age indulged to some extent in the āsura modes of war, and one chief feature of this asura war was the larger use of machines or mechanical contrivances which resulted in wholesale slaughter The mānusa kind of war was the only accepted one Yet another division of wars is seen in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*—land fights, hill and forest fights, and sea fights [1]

We shall, for the purpose of our present study, bring all wars under three heads These are land warfare, naval warfare, and aerial warfare Some may feel sceptic about aerial wars in ancient India, but the scepticism vanishes into thin air if the material available is properly analysed and studied This may be regarded as the āsura element in the mānusa war, but we shall see more of this in the sequel

1 Mānavadharmaśāstra, VII, 192

Land fights, then, occupy our foremost attention Before the beginning of the Christian era, land fights were the rule, and sea and aerial fights were the exception Land fights generally included wars in the plain country, forests and hill regions, though it is to be noticed that the law-giver, Manu, makes a distinction between battles on the plains and those on the hills and forests There is yet another recommendation of the law-giver, that as far as possible wars should be fought away from cities and villages, and on the edge of forest regions This was due to two reasons One was not to disturb normal civilian life The other was the strategic advantage of scoring a victory without much fighting and shedding of blood Hill wars were not frequent Wherever the capital city was a citadel, it was besieged and taken by storm Siege warfare was a land fight. The Daśarājya yuddha of the *Rg Veda* is an example of a war on the plains in very early times In the later heroic age, the battle at Kuruksetra between the Pāndavas and the Kauravas was a land fight where strategy and tactics were used to the utmost degree on both sides and which well deserves to be called an example of a tactical war Alexander's battle with the Indian king, Porus, may be cited as an instance of a land battle where strategic skill was employed in a large measure

We do not propose to go into the details of these wars, but shall proceed to an examination of the employment of strategy and tactics in them Henderson says that strategy, according to the official text-book of the British Infantry, is the art of bringing the enemy to battle, while tactics are the methods by which a commander endeavours to over-reach the enemy when battle

is joined[2] He holds that the end of strategy is the pitched battle In fact every battle that was fought in ancient India was a pitched battle in the sense that it was elaborately arranged for by both the contending parties If an invader resolved on an invasion of a neighbouring state and made satisfactory arrangements to that effect, he dispatched an ambassador to the enemy king, giving due notice of his resolution and thus giving him time to make his own arrangements for defence Rāma sent Angada to Rāvana on this account The arrangements on either side consisted of repairs of fortifications, if necesary, storing of foodstuffs and arms and their accessories, and the securing of the food supplies which should never fail[3] The function of spies and scouts in warfare was to gather correct information on the strength of the enemy, to win over his people and officials by bribes, and to bring about dissensions between him and his feudatories, and this is discussed in a subsequent chapter This is the use of artifice, stratagem, or *finesse* in carrying out any project With these preliminaries and with particular care about his transport and the commissariat, the invader lay in wait for an opportunity to attack the enemy[4]

SECTION II

STRATEGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

THE MARCH

The actual march of the enemy is regulated by short

2 Science of War, Ch II

3 *Ar Śās* XII, 3, *Śānti*, 120, 25

4 *Ibid*, Bk III 4

and long halts, well provided with commissariat, supplies and transport and communication facilities There are two kinds of march It may be a slow march when the invader feels that his offensive equipment is not strong enough to break up the enemy, or again when the enemy is making negotiations for peace Otherwise he may make a quick or even a forced march [5] In the expeditions undertaken the element of time played a prominent part The month of Mārgaśīrsa (December) is generally recommended for long marches and Caitra (March-April) for short distances [6] But though this was the rule, there were exceptions In case the conquering monarch found it advantageous to lead an expedition irrespective of the season, then he should do so [7] But it is the prescription of the *Arthaśāstra,* corroborated by the *Kāmandakīya* and the *Agnipurāna,* that during the hot season only asses, camels, and horses were to be used,[8] in preference to elephants The dewy season alone was fit for the use of elephants in marching But a wise king is asked to avoid battle during the summer and rainy seasons

The Nāyaka led the army while the Senāpati guarded the rear If the road on the route of the march was sufficiently broad, it was recommended that the front ranks should march in a crocodile-like (makara) order, and the rear in a cart-like order, both flanks marching

5 *Agni* Ch 242

6 *Mhb* v, 83, 7

7 *Ibid*, xii, 100 *Manu* vii 182

8 *Ar Śās*, p 365, *Kāma* p 287, *Agni* p 377

9 *Śukra* p 238 For a description of the Mahratta army on the move see Broughton- *Letters from a Maratha Camp,* describing Scindhia's army on the march.

in a diamond-like array But if the march lay through a narrow path, the army was to move in pin-like (sūci) order These, in modern literature, are explained as perpendicular and parallel or flank marches The march was undertaken only after the roads had been examined and cleared of thorns and shrubs [10] Conditions then were quite different from what they are to-day Even on the march the army went arranged in battle order This was undoubtedly to meet a sudden attack It might be that the enemy would make a surprise attack on the route, and if the army marched with no order or in an irregular order, it would not be possible to face the enemy effectively

If, during the course of the march (dandamārga as it was known in later Vijayanagar) [11] rivers and canals were to be crossed, this was ordinarily done with the help of elephants which, being heavy animals, would withstand the current Or they were forded over by boats and canoes Or again wooden and other bridges were thrown over with the aid of skilled engineers But if in fording, the enemy placed obstruction by throwing missiles from the other side, the invader should withdraw from the place and seek another favourable fording point to cross without the enemy's knowledge Yet another regulation was that the army must not be made to feel fatigue or irksomeness during the journey Above all attention was drawn to the base of operations, for much of the success depended on maintaining communication with it A river or mountain fortress was regarded as the best base [12]

10 *Ar* *Śās* Bk X 2. 11 *Ep* *Ind* 19 133 34
12 *Ar* *Śās* Bk X, 2

How an army marched with its different units is described in detail in the *Agnipurāna* [13] First came the vanguard forces with their leader known as the Nāyaka The purpose of an advance guard was to gather intelligence as regards the movements of the enemy European History furnishes us with examples of generals who used and sometimes did not use this section of the army Its use depended on the size of the army Generals like Napoleon who took forces numerically strong made use of these, while those like Frederick the Great who commanded smaller numbers, did not find much use for it In the middle of the line, besides the treasury and the women, were the king riding on a chariot or an elephant and also the front ranks of the army composed of picked men, well trained in all branches of warfare The less brave and the less trained were stationed in the rear The flanks of the army in march were protected by horsemen, charioteers and elephant-men in successive order, so that they would not be attacked from the sides And beyond the elephants marched the forest tribes recruited for the campaign In the rear went the Commander-in-Chief Whenever the troops retired for rest, sentinels and scouts were posted as picket guards in different directions to raise alarm at any surprise attack by the enemy

With favourable omens and in the Uttara Phalguni Naksatra auspicious for the march, Rāma set out with his forces towards the citadel of Lankā Nīla was the Nāyaka leading the vanguard and surveying the route, which lay through an undulating tract of land and which required the boldness and talents of a tried general to

13 Ch 242, 1-18

march through it The march was through a region affording supplies of fruit, water and foodstuffs Strong and well-disciplined vānara soldiers like Gaja, Gavaya, and Gavākṣa occupied the front ranks Ṛṣabha took up the right wing, whilst Gandha and Gandhamādana held the left wing, and Rāma and Lakṣmana marched in the middle Powerful commanders like Jāmbavan and Susena took up the command of the rear guard Crossing rivers and marching up hill and down dale, the forces reached the shores of the ocean and encamped in three divisions Bold and faithful vānara warriors like Mainda and Dvida served as pickets so as to give cover to the troops by patrolling, reminding us of Frederick the Great's campaign of 1760,[14] celebrated for its fine marches and manœuvres

SECTION III

THE CAMP

The next strategical point to be considered by the commander was the encampment It is called in the Purānas and epics *Skandāvāra*,[15] and in the inscriptions of Vijayanagar *Kandācāra*[16] Generally thickly wooded spots were selected for the disposition of the troops The best ground[17] for entrenching horses is a level plain with no rocks and covered only with a few trees, and not

14 Carlyle *Frederick the Great*

15 *Br Pur* III 49 9, *Rāmā* VI 42 22

16 Rice *Mysore Gaz* I, p 579, *Ep Car* XI, 24 But the *Hariharacaturanga*, a work of this period, mentions the term Skandavāra for a camp (Bk VI)

17 *Mhb Udyoga* 152, 1, 2 *Ar Śās* Bk X, 4 *S T B* v 14 25 9

muddy, for chariots, a well-laid road, devoid of sand or mud, trees, shrubs, etc, for elephants, one without mud or having a layer of sharp gravel, and for infantry and others, one free from all defects, but with available supplies of drinking water It should be broad and free from thorns The camp[18] was usually quadrangular in shape, furnished with four entrances, six roads and nine divisions and with walls, towers and ditches thrown round so as to afford a defence in times of danger This is illustrated from Bharata's camp on the banks of the Ganges on the eve of his meeting Rama and from those of the Pāndavas and the Kurus on the eve of the Great War There were separate grounds for the drill and exercise of soldiers Every division of the army was housed comfortably in inner apartments erected for the purpose Honest and loyal men were posted to watch the movements of the enemy It is said that eighteen divisions of sentinels should daily change their watches in turn Outside the camp and at a distance from it, forest men should be posted in circular arrays Even during the hours of the rest the king must be armed always ready for action Around the camp, again, secret pits were dug up and covered with thorns, nails, pikes and such other things as would cause hurt to those entering the camp from outside. The cavalry soldiers were generally selected as scouts and as pickets to protect the supply department, and to guard depots of stores of all kinds It is recommended that other available camping grounds should be such as to place the enemy at a disadvantage In the camps, drinking, gambling and other social enjoyments were prohibited,

18 *Rāma* 16, 6-13, *Mhb. Bhīsma*, I, 1-15

and for men coming in and going out of the camp a system of passports[19] was maintained in order to distinguish them from the enemy's spies who might enter in disguise and unobserved

The camp was generally a self-sufficient unit It was a miniature town There were minstrels and women of lower and higher ranks For instance, Draupadi and Subhadra, in the Pandava camp of the *Mahabhārata* war, lamented the death of Abhimanyu They were escorted back home by aged men[20] All the four *varnas* were found in it The storing of arms as well as of food-stuffs was ample Physicians and surgeons were available for the treatment of the sick and the wounded[21] The army retired to rest after the day's labour On waking up their first business was to offer prayers[22] In this connexion Kautalya remarks "Kings and allies, in order to secure their triumph should observe in their encampment, the strict rules of self-denial, liberality and religion."[23]

SECTION IV

SITE FOR THE BATTLE-FIELD

Another strategical consideration which engaged the General's mind was the choice of a proper site for the operations of war It is thus laid down in the *Śiva-*

19 *Ar Śās* Bk X, 1 and 2; *Kāma* 19 45-50, *Śukra* IV 7 260-63

20 *Mhb* IX, 29, 65 and 73

21 *Ibid* *Udyogaparva*, 151, 58 152, 13, 155, 5

22 *Ibid* VI, 19 36-39

23 *Kautalya*, Bk IV, p 306

vyūsadhanaveda[24] "That battle-field which is damp, hard, full of gravel and water and contains granite and shrubs ought not to be chosen. But one without inundations, but expansive, covered with a little dust or an uninhabited plain, is the best theatre of war." In the battle of the Hydaspes, it is said that Porus fixed that "site where there was no clay but that the ground from its nature was all flat and firm, and suited for the movements of cavalry whether charging or falling back", and that he drew up his army in order of battle, the elephants being posted in the front lines at intervals of not less than 100 feet and before the whole body of his infantry, so as to strike terror into Alexander's soldiers. The infantry was arranged in two lines, one behind the other, and also on the wings beyond the elephants. On both sides of the infantry the cavalry were posted, with chariots in front. According to the *Agnipurāna*,[25] again, strategic warfare must be conducted in forests, on rivers and on rainy days, for attacks on open grounds are always difficult. In the battle-field the commander should aim at the strategical position of the army in its various divisions. It was then the time for him to show his mettle. Śukrācārya says[26] that both small and big guns are to be stationed in front, and behind them the foot-soldiers. The wings are to be occupied by elephants and chargers. With regard to the general arrangement of the army in the field, the *Agnipurāna*,[27] says that the various divisions should stand neither too close nor too far apart, so that the soldiers can exercise their weapons freely and without obstruction of any sort. In the fore-

24 *Śārangadhara*, 1681-82
25 Ch 236, 59-60
26 IV 7 343-5
27 Ch 236, 28-37.

front, the flower of the array are to be stationed, of course after keeping some as a reserve for an emergency The most important portion that should not be neglected on any account, is the rear Bold warriors armed with swords must occupy the front Behind should stand the archers with bows and darts, then the horsemen, the charioteers and the elephant-men in order Before the vanguard the leader of the army should stand holding firmly the flag-staff The front is to be an extensive field so as to allow flanking movements without the least difficulty This is evident from the fact that the war-wise leaders of Hindu India were accustomed to all kinds of strategical movements As for the king himself, he was not to take an active part in the actual operations of the field For if he should happen to fall, that would decide the battle instantaneously Therefore he should continue to encourage the army only from the rear

In this connexion we may invite attention to an important prescription of the *Agnipurāṇa*[28] It says that a competent general should attack the rear of the enemy if he should find the ground in front and on the sides undulating In such a situation it was not possible for the enemy to escape[29] Kautalya recommends en tangling the enemy in an ambuscade by fording the river elsewhere if they guarded a particular ford[30] This can be illustrated from the battle of the Ten Kings explained in the *Rg Veda Samhitā*[31] Here the contending parties were the Tritsus and the Bharatas Both planned to

28 *Ibid*

29 Compare Oman's remarks on the Byzantine general of the 10th Century A D (*op cit* pp 208 ff)

30 *Ar Śās* p 365

31 III 53

ford the Bias and the Sutlej and attempt a surprise attack. But the Tritsus took the initiative and unsuspectedly overwhelmed the other side on the southern bank of the Ravī in an ambuscade, making it impossible for the Bharatas to escape[32] Students of Indian History will recollect that it was the device adopted by Alexander in crossing the Hydaspes, seeing Porus guarding the accustomed passage with his large army arrayed for battle[33]

The battle-line was arranged with an exit here and there The *Agnipurāna* speaks of a five-fold exit (*randhra*) in a battle-line, a distinct improvement on the old practice[34] That there was certainly some such opening in the battle-line at the Kuruksetra war is evident from the fact that Drona went out to get an idea of the enemy's arrangement in the field[35]

A number of flags—dhvaja, ketu and patāka—distinguished the several divisions of an army There was a standard with a distinct symbol flying aloft from the car of each knight, corresponding to the plume of the European knight of the middle ages For instance Arjuna had a monkey standard Sometimes in the midst of thick dust raised by the battle, it was not possible to distinguish friend from foe In such cases resort was had to the particular device of signalling over the field by horn and conch The soldiers were so familiar with the war-whoop of their men that they generally did not fail

32 See Date *op cit* pp 70 and 72

33 See for a plan of battle in V A Smith's *Early History of India* (fourth ed)

34 *Agni* 241, 40

35 *Mhb* VII 117, 34

to recognise friend from foe [36] Two things are clear One is that there was no national flag as we have to-day, and secondly that these standards and flags were the rallying points of the belligerents in the battle Strategy, then, is the science, as distinguished from the art, of war

SECTION V

CONSTRUCTION AND SIEGE OF FORTS

One kind of land fight was siege warfare The ancient kings attached very great importance to fortresses, for they served as the main base to defend the kingdom against the invasions of the enemy The capital city of every ruling chief was surrounded by fortifications either natural or artificial [37] The natural ones were water-fortifications, mountain-fortifications, desert-fortifications, and forest-fortifications [38] Of these forms more value was attached to the water and mountain-fortifications as affording ampler protection for people and serving as impassable and insurmountable barriers to the invading enemy The treasury was located in the citadel itself Artificial fortifications like the Maginot Line in France were those which were specially constructed with a view to defending the capital from an invading enemy Every fort town was surrounded by a deep and wide ditch closely touching the lofty rampart walls thrown around Here in these

36 VII, 171, 12 See also Hopkins, *op cit*, pp 255 56

37 For a description of the six forts see the Auśanasa Dhanurveda quoted in the *Lakṣaṇaprakāśa*, pp 239-51, also *Viṣṇusmṛti*, iii p 242, See also *Siddhāntaśekhara*, Ibid, pp 242-45

38 *Mhb Śānti* 86 5-15, *Viṣṇu* ch iii, *Agni* 106

ramparts usually poisonous and thorny plants were allowed to grow

Going back to the *Rg Veda Samhitā*, we find tribes living in fortifications known by the name 'pūr', an earth-work strengthened by a palisade or, possibly, occasionally by a stone wall[39] There are numerous references to such kinds of fortress buildings which were besieged and destroyed by the invading hosts In the later Brāhmana literature also there is a distinct reference to the existence of forts In the annual sacrifice portion of the *Aitareya Brāhmana* the three Agnis or fires are described as forming three forts to prevent the Asuras from disturbing the sacrifice[40] 'These, being afraid of these fires, with Agni in front and behind, took to flight Thus the Asuras and the Rākṣasas were exterminated Here, even the idea of setting fire to the buildings as a last resort receives emphasis In the *Kausītaki Brāhmana* the Upāsadas are described as the citadel of the Asuras, the enemies of the Devas[41] Here, these take refuge against the gods They make citadels of iron[42] in this world, of silver in the atmospheric regions, and of gold in the sky beyond It may therefore be said without any fear of contradiction that the use of forts was well known to the people of the Vedic age

Coming to the epoch of the *Arthaśāstra*, Kautalya says "In the construction of the rampart care should be had that on the outer portions there should be no space

39 *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol I p 86

40 ii, II (vii, I)—(A B Keith)

41 VIII, 8 (*Ibid*)

42 *RV* Bk II, 20 III 12 Cf *Manu* VII 74

whatsoever for movement of any sort and the few openings allowed should be covered with invisible obstructions on the inner side of these ramparts there must be two platforms on opposite sides, a big hall, two upper-stories provided with an ascending and a descending staircase, iron bolts, massive beams, and turrets being thrown over the huge gates What were known as Attālakas were places for locating both movable and immovable defensive weapons Hanumān speaks of the imposing appearance of the Attālakas of the Lankā fortress The fort was furnished with a lotus pool which should never dry up There was a special place for the worship of the goddess Kumarī Perhaps this refers to the *caitya,* usually a feature of the palace Here the guardian deities were housed and prayers offered for the welfare of the kingdom in general This expression also occurs in the *Rāmāyana* in connexion with Rāvana's palace Between these towers or turrets, broad streets were laid out with storied buildings on either side There was a separate road for the gods Perhaps the processions on festival occasions passed through this pathway According to the *Arthaśāstra* the fortress was to be furnished with twelve gateways with passages, open and secret, both through land and water From this different roads of various dimensions branched off, one leading to the neighbouring forests, and others to the country parts [43]

Kautalya then speaks of the construction of the royal palace inside the fort This occupied one-ninth of the whole area of the fort To the north-east of the palace lived the priests, ministers and other higher

43 *Ar Śās* II 3

officials, while to the south-east were situated the kitchen and stables On the western side the merchants, artisans, and Kṣatriyas had their residences Near these were located the offices and the treasury, while opposite were the store-house and the arsenal To the southern side of the palace lived musicians, prostitutes, and superintendents of the city, of commerce, and of other departments To the west lay the residences of the Śūdra classes and those engaged in small industries In the north-west were the bazaar-streets and hospitals with clusters of guilds and groups of workmen of various trades and manufacturers In the heart of the city were a number of temples devoted to different cults In the northern and eastern directions were situated burial grounds for the lower castes and in the south those for higher castes Heretics and the Caṇḍāla community had their quarters beyond these grounds Flower, fruit and vegetable gardens, side by side with rice fields, lay scattered throughout, both within and without the city A well with good drinking water was dug at a distance of every ten houses All the essential articles of daily use, such as food-stuffs, oil and salt, were stored inside the fort so as to suffice for long periods of siege[44] From this it appears that forts were systematically designed

Some of the *Dharmaśāstras* also throw light on the kind and use of fortresses in general Manu,[45] says, "that the king should find his residence in a well guarded fort either surrounded by deserts, forests or water" The best is, indeed, the hill-fortress[46] The

44 *Ar. Śās* II, ch 3

45 *Manu* 7 70-71

46 *Agni* ch 222 5

importance of citadels is well brought out by Manu in the succeeding stanzas Standing behind the battlements of the citadel one bowman could easily withstand one hundred bowmen and one hundred bowmen ten thousand bowmen [47] A king was thus enabled to defend his capital against great odds with the aid of a few able archers and warriors As a source of great defence, fortifications were a valuable feature of ancient states But the existence of mere fortresses would not produce the intended effect So Manu ordains that they should be garrisoned with a large equipment of soldiers, engines and water-supply Without an ample provision of these things any amount of defence would be neither adequate nor efficient

When the enemy attacked, the defender should take refuge in a fort, removing all the inhabitants of the villages into it and gathering in quantities of all sorts of grain available [48] If this were not possible he might destroy the bridges and minor forts in his own territory and set fire to the grain stores, etc, so that they might not be used by the invading king Fresh ramparts should be thrown round his own fort on the outside The moats must be filled up with creepers and with sharks and crocodiles Pointed and sharp spikes of various kinds must be fixed in the bottom of the moats, thus obstructing their crossing by the enemy The walls of the fort should be defended with fire-implements and guns and the gateways with death-dealing engines Śataghnis or cannon and other weapons should be furnished on the impenetrable ramparts, so that an

47 *Manu* 7 74-6

48 *Mhb Śānti* 59, 35-37, *Ibid*, 41 45

effective defence might be offered even against a powerful invader Thus in Bhīshma's learned opinion a fort surrounded by a huge wall and a ditch full of water and furnished with only one entrance is the best[49] It is again seen that the number of gates for the fort seems in no way to have been restricted For example, if we may believe the testimony of Megasthenes, Pātaliputrā was encompassed by a moat six *plethrons*[49a] broad and 30 cubits deep, and the ramparts were furnished with 572 towers and above all 64 gates[50]

Kāmandaka belongs to the Kautalīyan school He speaks of only five kinds of fortresses, water, (e g the modern water defences of the Meuse), hill, forest, (e g the present Ardennes Forest affording natural obstacles), barren plain, or desert[51] The recommendations made for providing defence and safety are the same as in Kautalīya As a typical illustration of a fort as gathered from literary sources, the castle of Lankā figures prominently in the *Rāmāyana* Hanumān describes the city as he saw it[52] The doors were huge and massive and fastened with iron bolts Above them were stationed several kinds of arms and machines to guard them from invaders Hundreds of Śataghnis were found arranged in order at the entrance The walls were unscalable, and their sides were decorated with numerous precious stones of high value. Surrounding these there was a deep and wide moat filled with pure water and contain-

49 *Ibid* 100 15

49a Plethron was a Greek unit of measurement about 101 English feet

50 *The Indica of Arrian* (McCrindle)

51 *Kāmandaka,* IV 55-59

52 *Yuddha* ch 3

ing several wild acquatic animals There were four bridges over the moat, protected on both sides with huge destructive engines The citadel was further defended by water, hill, and other artificial fortifications It was fully garrisoned with horses, elephants, and hundreds of brave Rākṣasa warriors

There is also an interesting description of Ayodhyā in the same work It was twelve *yojanas* in length and ten in breadth[53] Broad and spacious roads were laid throughout Everything was kept in order It had strong gates with massive doors By the side of the wall was a fathomless moat In the city were numerous artisans, merchants, soldiers and other classes of people Corn-fields and gardens met the eye everywhere

The conception of fortresses in medieval India was not very different from that in ancient India It would be interesting to study here how the *Mānasāraśilpaśāstra*, an important work on Indian architecture,[54] defines the *Padmaka* type of a fortress city having eight, twelve or sixteen gates and the whole surrounded by a huge wall and a moat It is said that suitable sites for a fort are those where water can be got in all seasons and hence either near a sea-shore, or by the river-side or in a forest plain The gateways are to have huge double-doors, securely fastened by strong bolts Above them are to be placed firing guns and other destructive war-machines with soldiers stationed near them

Besides the *Padmaka* type, which has the plan of a circle or a square other plans recommended are the

53 *Bālakānda*, ch 5

54 *Indian Architecture* (Ananthalwar) Vol III, Bk 1, ch 9 (Text and Trans by P K Acharya—Oxford Press, 1933)

svastika type, more or less rectangular in form, and the *kārmuka* or bow like type Over these towers are to fly flags with guardsmen near them and here music is to be played[55] Just near the main gateway are to be built the royal palace and the residences of the principal officers Behind was the harem Between them the kitchens and store-rooms were located In the south we have the arsenal and the pleasure gardens and in the north the fourfold forces Separate quarters for all classes in the interior and separate tanks for men and beasts are a speciality The guardian deity is to be worshipped in a separate apartment Streets of different dimensions were laid out and equipped with lamp-posts The suburbs of the castle-palace led to the country

There is another equally important work on architecture, attributed to king Bhoja, *Samarāngana-sūtradhara,* in which mention is made of four kinds of fortresses Surrounded by a chain of lofty hills difficult to scale is the mountain castle Full of thorns, shrubs and trees and interspersed with pieces of water on every side and with secret passages leading to and from it is the mūladurga or forest castle Surrounded by deep waters on all the four sides and presenting a beautiful physical appearance, it became a water-fortified castle The last is the desert-fortification[56] This classification, it may be observed, is the same as Manu's But a later work like the *Hariharacaturanga* gives the traditional classification of six forts, and one of the names is worth noting, Dharmadurga (Bk VI)

There are also several other literary references to

55 *Indian Architecture*, Vol III, ch xi

56 Vol I, ch viii, 36-39

the fortresses which are both interesting and valuable According to the *Agnipurāna,* the fore-part of a city should be in the form of a bow[57] Goldsmiths and other artisans were to occupy the south-east portions. actors and dancers the south, and the minor artisans and fishermen the south-west, the arsenal department in the west, public offices in the north-west, Brahmans and monks in the north, merchant guilds in the south-east, the Kṣatriyas, the army and its commanders in the east, the Śūdras in the west, and the Mlecchas on the outer fringe Temples for the gods and other guardian deities were to be built in any direction, the harem and the palace of the king were to be in the east, while the royal kitchen and the store-room were in the south-east and the north

The *Śivatattvaratnākara* has an interesting chapter on the use and construction of a fortress[58] A king without a fort is compared to a snake without poison and an elephant without a rut Here nine kinds of fortresses are mentioned To the classical six of the *Mahābhārata,* three more are added This only shows that as time went on, the types of fortresses increased in number According to this late authority, the best are the mountain and the water-fortifications, while the Darudurga and Naradurga belong to the inferior kind Secret ways with machines and weapons guarding them are mentioned, besides the collection of articles for daily use

The fort must be garrisoned with all classes But the artisans ought to be greater in number, since they are required for manufacturing war materials Smaller in

57 *Agnipurāna,* I, 106

58 Kalola, 5, Taranga, 6

number may be the Brahmans, for their services are required only for propitiating the deities and performing the necessary rites to ensure victory Otherwise they are not of much value for purposes of warfare The *Śukranītisāra*[59] has the significant statement that to live in a fortress not furnished with food and weapons is to live only in imprisonment

Again, in the Tamil classic, *Maduraikkāñji*, of the early centuries of the Christian era, there is an excellent description of the fortification of Madura,[60] the capital city of the Pāndyan king It was intersected by grand streets with palatial buildings on both sides A forest dense with the trees and shrubs difficult for the enemy to march through surrounded it and served as a sort of protection It was succeeded in turn by a very deep moat of pure and clear water There were huge gates, lofty towers above, and massive walls around, one of which was full off ornamental paintings The palace stood high above these, with its numerous storied buildings and crowned with flags of various hues There were two extensive bazaar streets attracting all classes of people throughout the day Women decked with ornaments and well dressed were seen standing in the front verandahs of their houses Here the Brahmans, the Buddhists, and the Jains lived side by side and in harmony There were merchants and artisans of various trades and professions

Taking a general view of the different descriptions of fortresses, some of these formations appear to be fantastic and recall those of China Still the real

59 *Śukra* I, 237-57

60 *Ind Ant.*, Vol 40, p 227

military value of some forms of fortresses cannot be underrated The mere possession of a fort would not by itself be of strength and value

The *Agnipurāna* specifies five defects as seriously impairing the strength and value of fortresses in general[61] These are (1) the drying and silting up of the ditch with sand and mud, (2) the bad and neglected condition of the ramparts and towers, (3) the continuance in use of old, worn-out and inefficient instruments and machines of warfare, (4) a neglected arsenal and (5) an insufficient garrison of soldiers So it was the duty of a king to see that a fortress was properly maintained to stand an effective siege

SIEGE OPERATIONS

How the siege operations were conducted and what devices and tactics were adopted to get possession of the enemy's fortresses may next engage our attention Five methods seem to have been employed in capturing a fort[62] They were intrigue, *apasarpan* or pretending to retreat, *vamanam* or winning over the people, *paryuvasanam* or actual siege, and *avamartha* or taking by assault In Kautalya's opinion, an invading king should not, all at once, commence the siege of the enemy's fortress, for such a procedure would ultimately land him in trouble So a regular siege must be preceded by a considerable reduction of the enemy's forces This alone would easily lead him to victory in the struggle

Employing means, whether fair or foul, the would-be conqueror should prepare the way for a well-laid siege

61 *Agnipurāna*, Ch 241, sl 28

62 *Ar Śās* pp 407-08

A messenger should speak highly of his omniscient and supernatural powers and of his close association with several deities, and thus evoke a sort of awe and reverence in the enemy towards him Again, heretics and jugglers may be specially employed to seduce the enemy's subjects from their loyalty to their lord by playing upon their humour through the display of various kinds of magical tricks Or again, officials in the employ of the invader should pretend to have been dismissed by their master and seek employment with the defending sovereign And after they gained his confidence they were to aim at his life Further, the would-be conqueror, to ensure eventual success, should win over guilds of merchants and other public corporations, and thus weaken the enemy These and other methods prescribed by Kautalya may appear to laymen as unscrupulous, but they could be justified on the ground that his work is a treatise of expediency, and therefore these various means recommended for winning over the enemy's subjects or reducing his strength have indeed an ethical character, for it is the *svadharma* of a Ksatriya king to conquer the enemy though it might cost his life

With such preliminaries the invader might begin the siege if he found that everything else was in his favour and not in the enemy's [63] The opportune moment to commence siege operations might be when the enemy was in distress or suffered from disease, when his officers were disloyal and given to bribery, or when he possessed inadequate or ill-equipped defences, or had no ally to support him The invader should wait for some such

63 *Ibid*, pp 404-05

opportunity, and when it presented itself should not let it go, for there is only one tide in the affairs of men. Again, if the invader could not effect his purpose satisfactorily and found the enemy's people and officers above corruption or bribery, then he must have recourse to other and more effective means. Particularly when the enemy's subjects assumed the offensive, the invader might destroy their crops, water sources and stores, cut off their communications and place all kinds of obstruction in their path. This is only the *pratikriya* of Indian political literature. It is not, therefore, considered a sin. For instance, Hanumān burnt down the whole city as his tail was set fire to. Thus by destroying their crops and depriving them of their cattle, an invading king prepared the ground for laying a siege to the enemy's fort.

During the actual operations of a siege, the ditch surrounding the ramparts of a fort if empty, should first be filled by the besiegers with water and with mud and sand if it contained water. Then reaching the outer walls of the parapet, and finding them strongly guarded with well-equipped warriors, machines, explosives, and other materials might be used to bring down the walls by assault. In the meantime, the cavalry troops would be employed in forcing a passage through the various gateways of the fortifications. If these endeavours should not bear fruit, then recourse might be had to the use of fire. This was the last alternative, for Kautalya himself says that it is immoral and should be used only in an extreme crisis. Arrows vomiting fire could be shot both at the defenders of the fortress and into its interior. But this would not be sufficient to set fire to the whole of the fortress inside. So it is suggested that the tails of

birds could be tied with *agniyoga* which, when deposited on the roofs of the houses, would ignite and reduce the whole building to ashes[64] In a fragment of Megasthenes, mention is made also of a kind of boiling oil used in warfare and especially in sieges. It was extracted for the king, according to Ktesias, from a worm found in the Indus The oil had the power to ignite everything What exactly the worm referred to is, has not been finally settled, though Professor Wilson identified it with the alligator

If, despite such methods,[65] the enemy would still not submit, and offer a defensive attack and there was no chance of bringing down the fortress, other methods were recommended as a last resort. One such method is to befriend the enemy, observe carefully his weak points, and suddenly strike him, thus depriving him of his citadel If this should fail, the invader may feign defeat and exhaustion, and setting fire to his own camp, pretend to retreat, and thus induce the enemy to open his gates and come out He should then turn back and take the fortress by storm without losing a single moment

Another factor to be reckoned with was the use of elephants in siege warfare[66] That these animals were used for demolishing the fort-walls is seen, beside other evidences, from the first fragment of the *Indika* of Ktesias These animals were particularly trained for this purpose At a given signal from their leader these animals rushed impetuously towards the walls and pressed themselves against them

64 Even in modern wars, birds are not without use, (e g carrier pigeons are particularly useful in carrying messages)

65 *Ar Śās* XIII ch. 4

66 *Indika of Ktesias* (Fragments *IV)

We have a good description of the siege of the Lanka fortress in the *Rāmāyana* Hearing that Rāma was approaching with vast monkey hosts, Rāvana stationed very brave men to defend the four gates of his citadel, himself defending the northern gate[67] The monkey warriors with trees and rocks destroyed the upper portions of the great walls and filled the moat with trees, rocks and straw[68] Several thousands of monkeys under their leaders made an onslaught against the gateways But the Rākṣasas hurled incessantly innumerable darts and Bhindipālas from the walls Gradually all the Rākṣasas were killed. Finding that the city had not fallen, Sugrīva ordered what we may call a mass attack[69] Thereupon the monkey-warriors with fire-brands in their hands advanced towards the gates and set fire to them Some of them entered the city and set fire to the highways and byways as well as the great storied buildings and even the palace Enraged at this, Indrajit thought of vanquishing the enemy by the use of stratagem[70] He brought in his car an illusory figure of Sītā and had her slain in the presence of these monkey-warriors Then he performed secretly some *homas* and sacrifices at Nikumbhala in order to overwhelm the enemy's forces and rout them thoroughly But it was discovered, and he was soon killed by Lakṣmana It may be noted also that fire was resorted to only towards the end of the siege and that Rāma very dexterously allied himself with Vibhīṣana who offered

67 *Rāmāyana, Yuddha kānda*, ch 36

68 *Ibid*, ch 46

69 *Ibid*, ch 75

70 *Ibid*, chh 81-82

to help him. This alliance with an important member of the enemy's party was, indeed, a clever move which ultimately paid very well. For, but for his timely warning Indrajit might have finished his ceremonies at Nikumbhala and proved more than a match for the allies through his prowess and capacity for producing illusions. Lastly, the city was entered and Rāvana was killed in a fierce battle. Thus did Rāma come into possession of the city.

According to the *Agnipurāna* the invading monarch should carefully note that part of the citadel over which the crows came in and went out, and concentrate his attack on that quarter.[71] If this were done, it was believed that the fort would be captured in the end. Before starting on a military expedition, Kālidāsa says that the king should see that the capital fortress as well as the frontier fortifications were well strengthened and defended.[72] For the value of a fortress to the king is incalculable. Only after such precautions had been taken did Raghu set out on his famous Digvijaya.

Fear of foreign invasion is not the sole motive that necessitates the construction of these huge forts. Does not the lion, the king of animals, and a fierce destroyer of the gigantic elephant, have its abode in the mountain caves? So also there are advantages in a fortified palace.

Having thus captured the enemy's fortress, the invader should show mercy to the weak and the wounded. He must remove all his enemy's soldiers and warriors and replace them with his own men lest the former should

71 *Agnipurāna*, ch 232

72 *Raghuvamśā*, Canto IV, 26, 17, 52

do any mischief. Then he should make a triumphal entry into the palace with all the paraphernalia of a victor After the fall of the citadel Lankā, Rāma with his hosts spent the night in the city adorned with his garland of victory He generously granted the kingdom to Vibhīsana, the brother of the slain king

Let me conclude this section by referring to the attitude of modern military experts towards the use of fortifications Most of them take the view that as conditions exist at present, fortresses are unnecessary and dangerous The men garrisoning them might be better employed in other places Both the country and the army are either ruined by them or draw from them no tangible benefit They entail enormous and wasteful expenditure for their building, maintenance, and garrisoning with troops In fine, fortresses are seldom anything but an incubus These remarks of a weighty authority must be respected, though we see a tinge of exaggeration in them There is a wrong notion that is still current, namely, that these forts have lost their military value and are an anachronism since the invention of gun-powder [73] But Dr Oppert and some other scholars have demonstrated that gun-powder was in use in ancient India even in very early times, and still those strongholds were recommended as safe ones.

No doubt they were costly defences and some of the soldiers mobilised in the forts could have played a useful part in the open field But there is the other side of the shield It was during the last Great War, as we all know, that the fortresses in Belgium offered a stubborn

73 Clarke's *Mediaeval and Military Architecture,* Vol I *Operations of War*

resistance to the Germans, but for which the latter might in all probability have overwhelmed the whole of France In fact they were decisive in arresting the progress of Germany. Therefore to decry the value of a fort is to misjudge its merit It was perhaps rightly said that the "fortifications of Paris assure more powerfully the independence of France against the attacks of all Europe than the acquisition of many provinces which would only so much the more extend the frontier" It may be that the extensive use of gunpowder in recent times has facilitated their destruction much more quickly than before But this is not a sufficient argument for condemning such a useful institution which has rendered glorious service through the ages Even the use of heavy guns and shells has not thrown the dug-out trench out of its usefulness Trench warfare is but one kind of defensive operation from the security of the fortified, and protected underground trench [73a]

SECTION VI

TACTICS

In tactics we call a battle defensive if the enemy takes the initiative, and the defender awaits him from his own station Among the six prescriptions of foreign relations we can roughly speak of *vigraha* as a war of offence and *āsana* as one of defence In the great battle

73a The trenches during the Great War of 1914-18 and the underground fortifications of the Maginot and Siegfried Lines may be noted in this connection It may be recalled that the Barrier Fortress effectively checked Louis XIV's ambitious schemes of conquest of the Netherlands in his wars

of Lankā it was Rāma who took the offensive, while Rāvana adopted a defensive policy It was a long and weary march from Kiskindhā to Lankā Further, there was the sea to be crossed This was possible only by a rough causeway which was specially constructed by the engineering skill of Nīla at the instance of Rāma This must certainly have cost Rāma much time, and Rāvana, if he had wished, could have obstructed the building of the causeway Common sense would have dictated that he should prevent the enemy from crossing the bridge by direct defence from the other shore Apparently Rāvana realised the advantage of the condition of the approaching enemy as well as of the ground on which he could reinforce his troops and draw them up in orderly array Judged by the result, Rāvana's adoption of this defensive policy was a tactical blunder

In dealing with the conduct of war from the point of view of tactics, the range and the effect of different weapons are important In tactics, however, we are concerned with arms in a finished state and not with their construction [74] At the outset it must be remarked that Indian literature is replete with a number of mystical weapons, which seem to have been used by superhuman heroes and which legitimately belong to the Daiva and Āsura form of combat [75] They were chiefly fought with charms and spells The *Atharva Veda Samhitā* is full of these The object was to confuse the enemy and steal a march over him [76] It is not to our purpose to mention these, as we are dealing

74 Clauzewitz, I, p 113

75 *Nīti* II, 22-49; *Rāmā* I 27-28

76 S B E *A V* pp 121-24

with the mānusa form of battle, far from the realm of mythology

Vyūhas It would be interesting to consider the disposition of the army or order of battle, called *vyūha* in Sanskrit literature [77] This belongs to the province of tactics, while the plan of war is strategy It must not be forgotten, however, that the deployment and the drawing up of the army in array form the chief part of the plan of battle which should be arranged in accordance with the nature of the ground

If the ground is level, the army may be arranged on danda or staff-like array and mandala or circular array, if uneven, bhoga or snake-like and asamhata or detached arrays, and if complex, visama or an irregular array [78] Kautalya speaks of Sama, Visama, Hasti, Rathi, Aśva and Patti vyūhas In all these arrays the fourfold forces are used, unlike the solid phalanx of the Greeks and the Romans, which was a square formation of heavy armed infantry drawn up in rank and file, close and deep In the samavyūha all the four

77 The *Laksanaprakāśa* quotes at length on this subject from a work entitled *Rājavijaya,* apparently a work on war

78 *Ar Śās* Bk X, 3 The *Hariharacaturanga* follows the Kautalya's Arthaśāstra in this respect and mentions six principal vyūhas with their sub divisions and details of arrangement These are the mandala, asamhata, bhoga, danda varāha and prakrti The last two varāha and prakrti are new divisions put into use probably during the Muhammadan and Vijayanagar periods As if to corroborate this, there is mention of varāha vyūha in a Vijayanagar inscription (*Ep Car* VIII p 186)

It was arranged in boar-like form What was the principle that underlay the prakrti vyūha it is difficult to say We are told that at the battle of Raichur the army was divided into seven wings (Sewell, p 336)

arms are placed at certain distance so that there may be free movement for every soldier in the use of his weapons There must be three men-at-arms to oppose a charger, and fifteen men or five horses to oppose a chariot or an elephant If it is otherwise, it is visama vyūha In an array of chariots (ratha) nine chariots are stationed in front and the same number on the two flanks and the two wings The same number is also used for elephant (hasti) and horse (aśva) vyūhas, but in the array of elephants, nine war elephants are in the front, the same number, but trained for riding purposes are on the flanks, and rogue elephants on the wings, in an array of infantry (patti), soldiers wearing coats of mail are in front, those without armour are on the wings and archers in the rear [79]

The other kinds of array are bhoga (snake-like) in which the army is arranged in a line one behind the other, danda (staff-like) in which the army stands abreast, mandala (circle) in which the army is stationed in such a way as to be able to face all directions, and the asamhata (detached) array, in which small groups of warriors act by themselves The danda array becomes *pradara* when its flanks are projected forward And it is drona when both the flanks and wings are so projected Its counterpart is *asahya* where its wings are of great length Śyena is formed when the front stretches out, with its counter cāpa But if these four are arranged in the reverse order, they are known respectively as cāpa, cāpakuksi pradhistha and supradhistha The cāpa with its front stretched out becomes vajra with its counter sañjaya With flanks and wings extended it

79 *Ibid*, ch 5

becomes sthūlakarna, with the front twice the original length, viśāla vijaya is its counter array With wings alone projected it is called camūmukha, and the reverse of this latter Jhasāsya The efficacy of these arrays in their days was its irresistibility and strength to break through the enemy's order of battle [80]

Again sūci is another variety of dandavyūha where the various divisions of one army stand one behind the other If this is of two lines, it is known as valaya, if of four lines, durjaya Sarpasāri and gōmūtrikā are other varieties of bhoga order in which the front flanks and wings are of unequal depth That is śakata (cart) in which there are two lines in front, while the wings are like those of danda array The converse order for this is makara (crocodile) Pāripatantaka whose counter array is sarvatobhadra is yet another variety of bhoga which is another form of cart-like array

The different dispositions of the army under the mandala classification are sarvatomukha (capable of turning in all directions), sarvatobhadra (auspicious), aṣṭānīka (an eight-fold division), vijaya (giving victory), vajra (diamond-like), kākapadi (crow's foot), ardhacandrika (semi-circle-like), and karkatakaśṛngī (fish-like or crab-like) Some more kinds of arrays mentioned are arista where the front, the wings and the rear are occupied by chariots, elephants and horses respectively, acala in which infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants stand one behind the other and apratihata in which elephants, horses, chariots and infantry stand one behind the other But all kinds of arrays could be resisted with success by durjaya [81]

80 *Ibid*, ch 6
81 *Ar Śās* Bk X 6

These vyūha varieties are also mentioned in the *Agnipurāna*[82] According to it, even a small body of soldiers, if drawn up in pin-like array, could hold its own against odds Though every array mentioned was practically drawn up in five parts, yet all of them were not engaged at one and the same time Usually one or two divisions were in active service, while the rest were kept in reserve to meet emergencies But if the central division of the main portion of the vyūha was broken, then it was time to order a general retreat[83] Kāmandaka names from Brhaspati the seven limbs of a vyūha, and from Śukra five limbs, and concludes by saying that there are seventeen varieties of danda vyūha, two varieties of mandala, six of asamhata, and five of bhoga These should be used in accordance with place and time by expert leaders who have a practical and working knowledge of them[84]

Strategy and tactics could be used with effect both in righteous and unrighteous warfare Nowhere else is the application of these arrays so practically illustrated as in the Great War of the Hindus In this war Bhīsma has recourse to different vyūhas on different days[85] The army of the Kurus consisted of eleven Aksauhinis while that of the Pāndavas had only seven Seeing himself numerically inferior but backed by the superior strategy and experience, Yudhisthira advises Arjuna to form a

82 Mr. Date furnishes plans of the following vyūhas sarpa, cakra sūci, garuda makara śakata danda, kāka simha and others towards the end of his *Art of War*

83 *Agni* ch 236

84 *Kāma* 20 21-40 53-55

85 *Bhīsma*, ch 20 18

pin-like array as it was decisive in battles where a few had to fight against many Its other advantage was that it was capable of expansion, when necessary But Arjuna the strategist of the first order in reply expresses his desire to form that impenetrable array called vajra with Bhīma as its leader and king Virāta in the rear and the whole protected by himself For it has the great advantage of facing all directions[86] Śveta and Bhīsma exchange winged arrows Then the former cuts off his bow with his sword But in the evening Śveta is killed by Bhīsma[87] The next day Dhrstadyumna is appointed commander and a krauñcāruna vyūha is formed Arjuna is the leader of the vanguard Drupada is its head and king Kuntibhoja and Caidya are its two eyes A few kings were placed on its neck Yudhisthira with his retinue takes a position at the rear Bhīma, Sātyaki, and other horsemen constitute its right wing Nakula and Sahadeva occupy the left wing For to concentrate on the flanks is one of the unwritten principles of cavalry tactics[87a] On the joints of the wings are stationed elephants and car warriors as well as on the head, the back and the neck The rear is protected by Virāta[88] Bhīsma forms a counter array and blows his conch Arrows, swords and battle-axes are used in succession

86 *Ibid*, ch 19

87 *Ibid*, ch 48

87a Cf the tactics of the strong flanking parties (*tulghama*) of the Mongol and Mughals, especially in the first battle of Pānipat, where Bābur scientifically combined artillery and cavalry, ready to wheel round and take the enemy in the flank or rear, (C H I IV pp 12-13) See also Rushbrook Williams An Empire Builder of the XVII C (Allahabad) 1918

88 *Bhīsma* ch 50, 40 58

Arjuna fights with Bhīsma, and Drona with Dhrstadyumna Bhīsma kills the Kalinga prince and his soldiers [89]

Then the gāruda vyūha is formed by Bhīsma, Drona and Krtavarman are its eyes, Aśvatthāma and Krpa its head, Jayadratha its neck Duryodhana its back, and Sūrasena and others its tail The Magadhas and Kalingas form its right wing and other tribes the left wing On this Arjuna forms a counter array in ardhacandra [90] Again the Pāndavas form the śrngataka vyūha against the ocean-like army of Bhīsma [91]

The next to be referred to in detail is the sarvatobhadra array of Bhīsma's army [92] Further, Drona draws his army in cart-like array and the Pāndavas in the krauñca form [93] Again, when Karna assumes the generalship at Drona's death, he forms the makara vyūha, while the Pāndavas forms an ardhacandra [94] Similarly, in the encounter between Bhīma and Duryodhana, various manoeuvres are displayed [95]

A close examination of the arrays used in the Mahābhārata battles affords proof of the existence of four kinds of movements common to them—circular crooked, separate and compact, roughly corresponding to the deep and dense columns of mediæval England The introduction of firearms brought about a transfor-

89 *Ibid*, chh 51 and 52

90 *Ibid*, 56, 12-19

91 *Ibid*, 88, 16 f

92 *Ibid*, 100, 2 f *Śalya*, 7 20

93 *Drona* ch 7, 10 22

94 *Karna* xi, 14-32

95 *Ibid*, 58, 21 f

mation in the tactical disposition of troops We find different formations in wars since the beginning of modern times Methods in the formation of troops have been profoundly affected by the changes of armaments in different periods of history. Every method served a purpose in its own age The conclusion is that we must not become the slaves of any particular method From the *Agnipurāna*[96] we conclude that vyūhas like makara and sūci are to be formed if the danger is expected from the front, the sakata or cart-like arrangement if danger is from the rear, the vajra if from the wings, and the cakra or wheel array if from all sides And the General-in-Chief must invariably accompany the front which is indeed the danger zone Acting up to these principles in all their encounters with Bhīsma, Drona, Karna or even Duryodhana, the Pāndavas won their victory by sheer manliness conducting themselves generously against the enemy Does not diplomacy lend colour to strategical and tactical considerations also?

In the Kūtayuddha, on the other hand, different tactics come into play The idea that underlies this method of war is not dharma But still that form of war, to repeat what we have said, is warranted by the Śāstraic texts but only as a last resort When Duryodhana was sinking, Aśvatthāma with Krpa and Krtavarman entered the Pāndava camps undetected at night, and murdered Dhrstadyumna and the Pāñcāla warriors, set fire to their tents and returned[97] The tactics adopted by Indrajit in the war with Rāma by the murdering of Māyā Sītā so as to dishearten the

96 Ch 242, 35 ff

97 *Sauptika*, ch 8

Vānara hosts, who witnessed the horrid scene and spread the news of Sītā's death, came upon Rāma as a great surprise [98] But for the timely disclosure of the facts by Vibhīsana, Rāma might have desisted from further fighting

Another method employed in Kūtayuddha is to attack the enemy fighting on another front when he was engaged, or the would-be conqueror would feign an open attack or retreat, draw the enemy into a trap and overwhelm him in the rear by attacks previously arranged This is what we understand to-day as enveloping tactics Generally the attacks were direct, and rarely was this tactical method adopted When the Pāndavas realised that Bhīsma with his excellent strategic foresight could not be conquered by a frontal attack, they arranged a plan of campaign in which the enemy would be overwhelmed from all sides Indeed it proved effective to the Pāndavas and detrimental to the Kurus No restrictions embarassed a king pursuing an unrighteous war The enemy might be attacked whenever he was wearied or careless Or he might be killed when asleep during day or night [99] Thus the use of stratagem for destroying an enemy seems to have been advocated even by good men Aśvatthāma cites the authority of Vedic scholars for the use of poison, fire, and illusory weapons as the road to victory

98 *Yuddha* ch 81

99 *Kāma* 19, 54-66

विषेण वा माधव मायया वा शस्त्रेण गोविन्द तथाग्निना वा ।

ये तैरुपायै अरविन्दनाभ शत्रोर्वध वेदविदो वदन्ति ॥

Cf *Ar Sās* XII, ch 2, 4, 5, XIII, 2, XIV, ch 1-4

In this connexion the recommendation of the *Agni-purāna*[100] is noteworthy False shouts of victory should be made to terrify the enemy and spread confusion in his ranks These may, perhaps, find a parallel in enemy propaganda in modern wars in which defeats are sometimes advertised as victories

Thus 'strategy' and 'tactics' are simply two different names, as has been well said, given to the same devices when applied in scales of different magnitude There is no single rule applicable to the former which is not equally applicable to the latter as well

100 Ch 236, 59 68

CHAPTER VII

AERIAL AND NAVAL WARFARE

SECTION I

AERIAL WARFARE

No question can be more interesting in the present circumstances of the world than India s contribution to the science of aeronautics There are numerous illustrations in our vast Purānic and epic literature to show how well and wonderfully the ancient Indians conquered the air To glibly characterize everything found in this literature as imaginary and summarily dismiss it as unreal has been the practice of both Western and Eastern scholars until very recently The very idea indeed was ridiculed and people went so far as to assert that it was physically impossible for man to use flying machines But to-day what with balloons, aeroplanes and other flying machines[1] a great change has come over our ideas on the subject

The use and value of air forces is not hard to assess Their chief use lay until recently in the rapidity and skill with which the men flying did the scouting and reported to headquarters They located the position of the enemy, which enabled them to direct the attack We know from modern history that the French were the first to use balloons for this purpose The discovery of aeroplanes has revolutionised the realm of strategy and

1 See in this connexion Golikere *Through Wonderlands of the Universe* (1933), esp ch vi ff

tactics The present World War has demonstrated that before the air arm everything else pales into insignificance

Turning to Vedic literature, in one of the *Brāhmanas* occurs the concept of a ship that sails heavenwards The ship is the Agnihotra of which the Āhavanīya and Gārhapatya fires represent the two sides bound heavenward, and the steersman is the Agnihotrin who offers milk to the three Agnis [2] Again in the still earlier *Ṛg Veda Samhitā* we read that the Aśvins conveyed the rescued Bhujya safely by means of winged ships [3] The latter may refer to the aerial navigation in the earliest times

In the recently published *Samarāngana Sūtradhāra* of Bhoja, a whole chapter of about 230 stanzas[4] is devoted to the principles of construction underlying the various flying machines and other engines used for military and other purposes The various advantages of using machines, especially flying ones, are given elaborately Special mention is made of their attacking visible as well as invisible objects, of their use at one's will and pleasure, of their uninterrupted movements, of their strength and durability, in short of their capability to do in the air all that is done on earth After enumerating and explaining a number of other advantages, the author concludes that even impossible things could be effected through them Three movements are usually ascribed to these machines,—ascending, cruising thousands of miles in different directions in the atmos-

2 *Śatapatha Brāhmana*, II, 3, 3, 15

3 *Ṛg Veda*, I 117 14 and 15 Here 'wings' may be 'sails'

4 Ch 31 (Gaekwad Oriental Series)

phere and lastly descending. It is said that in an aerial car one can mount up to the Sūryamandala, 'solar region' and the Nakṣatra mandala (stellar region) and also travel throughout the regions of air above the sea and the earth These cars are said to move so fast as to make a noise that could be heard faintly from the ground[5] Still some writers have expressed a doubt and asked 'Was that true?' But the evidence in its favour is overwhelming

The make of machines for offence and defence to be used on the ground and in the air is described Some of these are water machines, musical instruments, door-keeper machines, streets, houses and pillars by means of 'yantra' or machine, and other varieties These require separate study Considering briefly some of the flying machines alone that find distinct mention in this work, we find that they were of different shapes like those of elephants, horses, monkeys, different kinds of birds, and chariots Such vehicles were made usually of wood We quote in this connexion the following stanzas so as to give an idea of the materials and size, especially as we are in the days of rigid airships navigating the air for a very long time and at a long distance as well

यन्त्राणामाकृतिस्तेन निर्णेतु नैव शक्यते ।
यथावद्बीजसयोग सौश्लिष्टयं श्लक्ष्णतापि च ।
अलक्षता निर्वहण लघुत्वं शब्दहीनता ।
शब्दे साध्ये तदाधिक्यमशैथिल्यमगाढता ॥
वहनीषु समस्तासु सौश्लिष्टयं चास्खलद्गति ।
यथाभीष्टार्थकारित्व लयतालानुगामिता ॥

5 *Samar* Ch 31, 45-79,

इष्टकालेऽर्थदर्शित्व पुन सम्यक्त्वसवृति ।
अनुल्बणत्व ताद्रूप्य दार्ढ्यमसृणता तथा ॥
चिरकालसहत्व च यन्त्रस्यैते गुणा स्मृता ।
एक बहूनि चलयेद् बहुभिश्चाल्यतेऽपरम् ॥
सुश्लिष्टत्वमलक्षत्व यन्त्राणा परमोगुण ।
अथ कर्माणि यन्त्राणा विचित्राणि यथाविधि ॥
नविस्तरान्नसङ्क्षेपात् साम्प्रत सम्प्रचक्ष्महे ।
कस्यचित् सा क्रिया साध्या काल कस्यापि कस्यचित् ॥
शब्द कस्यापि चोच्छ्रायो रूपस्पर्शौ च कस्यचित् ।
क्रियास्तु कार्यस्य वशादनन्ता परिकीर्तिता ॥
तिर्यगूर्ध्वमध पृष्ठे पुरत पार्श्वयोरपि ।
गमन सरण पात इति भेदा क्रियोद्भवा ॥
कालो मुहूर्तकाष्ठाद्यैर्भिन्नो भेदैरनेकधा ।
शब्दो विचित्र सुखदो रतिकृत्भीषणस्तथा ॥
उच्छ्रायस्तु जन्मस्य स्यात् क्वचित्भूजेऽपि शस्यते ।
गीत नृत्य च वाद्य च पटहो वश एव च ॥
वीणा च कास्यतालश्च तृमिला करटापि च ।
यत्किञ्चिदन्यदप्यत्र वादित्रादि विभाव्यते ॥
समस्तमपि तद् यन्त्राज्जायते कल्पनावशात् ।
नृत्ये तु नाटक चोक्षस्ताण्डव लास्यमेव च ॥
राजमार्गश्च देशी च यन्त्रात् सर्वं प्रसिध्यति ।
तथा जात्यनुगाश्चेष्टा विरुद्धा यास्तु जातिन ॥
ता सर्वा आपि सिध्यन्ति सम्यक्यन्त्रस्यसाधनात् ।
भूचराणा गतिर्योम्नि भूमौ व्योम चरागम ॥
चेष्टितान्यपि मर्त्यांना तथा भूमिस्पृशामिव ।

जायन्ते यन्त्रानिर्माणाद् विविधानोप्सितानि च ।
दुष्कर यद्यदन्यश्च तत्तद् यन्त्रात् प्रसिध्यति ॥ 31 45-79

An aerial car[6] is made of light wood looking like a great bird with a durable and well-formed body having mercury inside and fire at the bottom It has two resplendent wings, and is propelled by air It flies in the atmospheric regions for a great distance and carries several persons along with it The inside construction resembles heaven created by Brahmā himself Iron, copper, lead and other metals are also used for these machines All these show how far art was developed in ancient India in this direction Such elaborate descriptions ought to meet the criticism that the vimānas and similar aerial vehicles mentioned in ancient Indian literature should be relegated to the region of myth

The ancient writers could certainly make a distinction between the mythical which they designated daiva and the actual aerial wars designated mānusa Some

6 लघुदारुमयं महाविहङ्ग दृढसुश्लिष्टतनु विधाय तस्य ।
उदरे रसयन्त्रमादधीत ज्वलनाधारमधोऽस्यचाग्निपूर्णम् ।
तत्रारूढ. पुरुषस्तस्य पक्षद्वन्द्वोच्चालप्रोज्झितेनानिलेन ।
सुप्तस्यान्त· पारदस्यास्य शक्त्या चित्रकुर्वन्नम्बरे याति दूरम् ॥
इत्थमेव सुरमन्दिरतुल्य सञ्चलस्य लघुदारुविमानम् ।
आदधीत विधिना चतुरोऽन्तस्तस्य पारदभृतान् दृढकुम्भान् ॥
अय कपालहितमन्दवह्निप्रतप्ततत्कुम्भभुवा गुणेन ।
व्योम्नो झगित्याभरणत्वमेति सन्तप्तगर्जद्रसराजशक्त्या ॥
वृत्तसन्धितमथायसयन्त्र तद् विधाय रसपूरितमन्त ।
उच्चदेशविनिधापिततप्त सिहनादमुरज विदधाति ॥ *Ibid*, 95-99.

wars mentioned in ancient literature belong to the daiva form, as distinguished from the mānusa. An example of the daiva form is the encounter between Śumbha and the goddess Durgā. Śumbha was worsted and he fell headlong to the ground. Soon he recovered and flew up again and fought desperately until at last he fell dead on the ground.[7] Again, in the famous battle between the celestials and the Asuras elaborately described in the *Harivamśa*, Māya flung stones, rocks and trees from above, though the main fight took place in the field below.[8] The adoption of such tactics is also mentioned in the war between Arjuna and the Asura Nivātakavaca,[9] and in that between Karna and the Rākṣasa[10] in both of which, arrows, javelins, stones and other missiles were freely showered down from the aerial regions.

King Śatrujit was presented by a Brahman Gālava with a horse named Kuvalaya which had the power of conveying him to any place on the earth.[11] If this had any basis in fact it must have been a flying horse. There are numerous references both in the *Visnupurāna* and the *Mahābhārata* where Krsna is said to have navigated the air on the Garuda.[12] Either the accounts are imaginary or they are a reference to an eagle-shaped machine flying in the air. Subrahmanya used a peacock as his vehicle and Brahmā a swan. Further, the Asura Māya by name, is said to have owned an animated golden car with four

7 *Mākandeya Purāna*, ch. 90

8 *Harivamśa* ch. 56

9 *Vana* ch. 172. Cp. *Rāma*, V. 47.5, 33. VI. 50.51

10 *Drona* ch. 176, 50

11 *Mārkandeya Purāna*, ch. 20

12 *Visnu Purāna*, IV, ch. 30, 64-66, *Harivamśa*, ch. 44

strong wheels and having a circumference of 12,000 cubits, which possessed the wonderful power of flying at will to any place It was equipped with various weapons and bore huge standards And in the battle between the Devas and the Asuras in which Māya took a leading part, several warriors are represented as riding birds [13]

In the *Rāmāyana* when Rāvana was flying with Sītā in his aerial car to Lankā, Jatāyu, a giant bird, charged him and his car and this led to a duel between the bird and the Rāksasa king Golikere draws attention to a number of instances where fierce duels have been fought between man and bird of prey resulting in the damage of the aeroplane and its inmates, in some cases leading to a forced landing [14] Again, the Rāksasa Dronamukha offers his services to Rāvana in his encounter with the vānara hosts to fight them either on the sea or in the sky or in subterranean regions [15] After the great victory of Rāma over Lankā, Vibhīsana presented him with the Puspaka vimāna which was furnished with windows, apartments and excellent seats It was capable of accommodating all the vānaras besides Rāma, Sītā and Laksmana [16] Rāma flew to his capital Ayodhyā pointing to Sītā from above the places of encampment, the town of Kiskindhā and others on the way Again Vālmīki beautifully compares the city of Ayodhyā to an aerial car [17]

13 *Harivamśa*, ch 43

14 *Through the Wonderlands of the Universe*, pp 124-126

15 *Yuddha* ch 8

16 *Ibid*, ch 123

17 *Bāla*, ch 5

This is an allusion to the use of flying machines as transport apart from their use in actual warfare Again in the *Vikramorvaśīya*, we are told that king Purūravas rode in an aerial car to rescue Urvaśī in pursuit of the Dānava who was carrying her away Similarly in the *Uttararāmacarita* in the fight between Lava and Candraketu (Act VI) a number of aerial cars are mentioned[18] as bearing celestial spectators There is a statement in the *Harsacarita*[19] of Yavanas being acquainted with aerial machines The Tamil work *Jīvakacintāmani* refers to Jīvaka flying through the air [20]

But it has to be inferred that being very costly, their use was more or less the exclusive privilege of kings and aristocrats Another reason why they did not become common is found in the following lines from the *Samarānganasūtradhāra*

यन्त्राणा घटना नोक्ता
गुप्त्यर्थं नाज्ञतावशात्
तत्र हेतुरय ज्ञेयो व्यक्ता नैने फलप्रदा
कथितान्यत्र बीजानि यन्त्राणा घटना न यत् *Ibid*

This supplies a certain clue to the right understanding of the decline of this art The make and construction of these contrivances were usually kept secret lest others should get a knowledge of them and use them for wrong ends

18 *Uttararāmacarita*, Act VI

19 Dandopanatayavana nirmitena Nabhastalayāvinā yantra yānena VI ucchvāsa

20 XIII 2614 (5)

But to the common people and even to the military officials, the use of carrier-pigeons was of the utmost importance. There is enough to show that their use was well known to ancient peoples. Pliny relates that Brutus sent these pigeons, at the siege of Modena in 43 B.C., to his friends for help. Again, we find that they were used in 1167 A.D. as a means of communication between Syria and Bagdad. The letters were usually fastened to the wings. Despite the improved methods of communication by post and telegraph, even to-day they have their value. For when wars break out, there is every possibility that postal and telegraphic communication will be cut off or otherwise interrupted to the great detriment of the belligerent parties. But no one can prevent these birds from carrying information to the desired destination. Therefore even to-day in some countries in Europe the shooting and hunting of these birds is treated as an offence and severely punished.[21] Coming to our own country, Kautalya also makes a side reference to pigeon houses that served as military stations, an indication of the use of the birds in early days. This is perhaps why we find them among the several presents given to kings.[22]

To conclude, the flying vimāna of Rāma or Rāvana was set down as but a dream of the mythographer till aeroplanes and zeppelins of the present century saw the light of day. The mohanāstra or the "arrow of unconsciousness" of old was until very recently a creature of legend till we heard the other day of bombs discharging poisonous gases. We owe much to the energetic scientists

21 Hildebrandt, *Airships Past and Present*.

22 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 399.

and researchers who plod persistently and carry their torches deep down into the caves and excavations of old and dig out valid testimonials pointing to the misty antiquity of the wonderful creations of humanity [23]

SECTION II

NAVAL WARFARE

In Kautalya *Arthasāstra*[24] the admiralty figures as a separate department of the War Office, and this is a striking testimony to the importance attached to it from very early times In the *Rg Veda Samhitā* boats and ships are frequently mentioned The classical example often quoted by every writer on the subject is the naval expedition of Bhujya who was sent by his father with the ship which had a hundred oars (aritra) [25] Being ship-wrecked he was rescued by the twin Aśvins in their boat The writer in the Cambridge History of India, however, is of opinion that the Vedic Indians did not take part in ocean shipping, and bases his conclusion on the negative evidence that the rudder, anchor and sail are not mentioned in the Vedas [26] This *argumentum silentii* does not however prove anything Though it cannot be asserted from the meagre evidence available that naval battles were fought in the Vedic period, yet the foreign trade of India from prehistoric times cannot for a moment be doubted This extensive commercial inter-

23 *Introduction to Indian Architecture,* Vol III

24 Bk II ch 28

25 Rg Veda, I, 116 5, X, 101 2, cp *Vājasaneyisamhitā,* xxi, 7, *Śatapatha Brāhmana,* IV, 2 5 10

26 *Cambridge History,* I, p 101

course of India with foreign countries, including the Mediterranean lands and the African continent,[27] naturally led to piracy on the waters There then arose the need for the protection of sea-borne trade, and we are told that "at the outset the merchant vessels of India carried a small body of trained archers armed with bows and arrows to repulse the attacks of the pirates, but later they employed guns, cannon and other more deadly weapons of warfare with a few wonderful and delusive contrivances"[28] These were probably the beginnings of the ancient Indian navy

In the Śānti Parvan of the *Mahābhārata* it is said that the navy is one of the angas of the army[29] Examples of ships being used for military purposes are not lacking When Vidura scented danger to Kunti's five sons, he made them escape to the forest with their mother, crossing the Ganges in a boat equipped with weapons having the power of withstanding wind and wave[30] This may perhaps be put down as river navigation But in the Dig Vijaya portion of the Sabhā parva, it is said that Sahadeva crossed the sea and brought many islands under his sway after defeating the Mlecchas and other mixed tribes inhabiting them If this be an historical fact the inference is irresistible that he could not have effected his conquest without the the use of boats and vessels[31] We read in the *Rāmāyana*

27 See Dr W Vincent Bk IV *The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients* pp 457 ff and *JMS*, Vol, viii, pp 77f, Warmington *A History of Ancient Geography* (Indian Ed revised by M Cary)

28 *Ibid*, pp 78-79

29 Ch 59, 41

30 *Mhb*, Ādiparva, ch 143

31 *Ibid*, Sabhā, 31

that Durmukha, a Rākṣasa who had been fired by the impulse of anger at the deeds of Hanumān, offered his services to Rāvana even to fight on the sea This is testimony enough of the use of a fleet for war purposes, without which fighting on the sea would not be possible[32] There are other references here and there to ships in the *Rāmāyana* When Hanumān was crossing the ocean to Lankā, he is compared to a ship tossed by winds on the high seas[33] Sugrīva speaks of Sumatra, Java and even the Red Sea,[34] when sending forth his monkey hosts in quest of Sītā The *Amarakośa* mentions a number of nautical terms which stand for ship, anchorage (naubandhana), the helm of the ship (naukarana), the helmsman (naukaranadhara)[35] That there were ship-building yards in different parts could be inferred from a significant term nāvātakseni occurring in a copper plate grant of Dharmāditya dated 531 A D[36]

About 517 B C according to Herodotus, Darius launched a maritime expedition under Skylax of Caryanda to the Indus Delta, and during Alexander's time, again, we read of the people of the Punjab fitting out a fleet We have the testimony of Arrian to show that the Xathroi (Ksatri), one of the Punjab tribes, supplied Alexander during his return voyage with thirty-oared galleys and transport vessels which were all built by

32 अस्मिन्मुहूर्ते हत्वैको निवर्तिष्यामि वानरान् ।
प्रविष्टान्सागर भीममम्बर वा रसातलम् ॥ *Yuddha,* 8 8

33 *Sundara*, 1 68, *Ibid*, 25 14

34 *Kiskindha*, ch 40

35 Cp Varāhamihira, *Brhat Samhitā* chh V and VII

36 *Ind Ant*, XIX 198

them [37] Writing on the house of Euthydemos, Prof Rapson remarks ' The Bactrian and Indian coins of Antiochus with their types of ' Poseidon ' and ' Victory ' must refer to a naval triumph, and it is difficult to explain the allusion except on the supposition that this king had won a victory on one of the great Indian rivers—the Indus or the Jhelum "[38] From this period down to the invasion of the Muhammadans to India the people of the Indus region showed their nautical skill in piracy, so that the Persians built no city worth the name on their sea-coast [39]

Further, it is said that the Asura Śūra hid himself in the sea afraid of Subrahmanya, the god of war The latter met and vanquished him.[40] Again, the Kālakeya Asuras secreted themselves under the sea during day time after killing the Brahmanas during the night [41] If these instances are not due to the flight of the imagination of the Purāna writer and if any modern construction could be put upon them, they point to the use of submarines or of ships on the high sea in which they took shelter It is open to future research to settle the question one way or the othe

Mānavadharmaśāstra refers to sea fights and attests to the use of boats for naval warfare [42] The sailor is called naukākarmajīva [43] Thus in Vedic, Epic and the Dharmaśāstra literature we find that naval warfare is

37 *India and Its Invasion by Alexander*, p 156
38 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p 54
39 Contra Robertson *Disquisition*, p 160
40 See *Skanda Purāna* for details
41 *Mhb*, *Vana*, Ch 102
42 *Manu*, VII 192
43 *Ibid*, X 34

mentioned as a distinct entity, attesting a continuous naval tradition from the earliest times

Passing on to the other literary evidence, we find in the *Raghuvamśa* frequent reference to boats and ships Raghu in the course of his digvijaya conquered Bengal which was protected by a fleet (nausādhanotyatān) [44] In another place it is mentioned that Raghu marched on Persia through the land route, and not by the sea route, thereby showing that the latter was the more common route [45]

As has been already stated, the *Kautalīya Artha-śāstra* makes express mention of the Admiralty as a department of administration There was a superintendent (adhyaksa) over this department His jurisdiction included vessels bound for commerce also Kautalya distinguishes ocean routes (*samudra samyānapathā*) from river routes and routes for coastal traffic (*kulapathā*) [46] Among the sea-going vessels men of war also figure, bound for the enemy's country (amitravisyatigah) [47] That Aśoka continued to maintain a fleet is evident from the wide diplomatic relations which the emperor had with distant powers like the Hellenistic monarchies of the Mediterranean That the early Andhras had a fleet of their own is borne out by the more reliable evidence of coins The coins belonging to the reign of Pulumāyi (and also of Yagñaśri) bear the figure of a two-masted sailing ship [48] The coins were apparently issued to

44 *Raghu*, IV 36

45 See Mallinātha's Comment *Ibid*, 4 60

46 Book II, sec 28

47 See Dikshitar *Mauryan Polity*, pp 367-68

48 See Rapson's *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, p 22

commemorate a naval victory[49] During the epoch of the imperial Guptas a naval force was maintained by the State, as is evident from the inscriptions The Allahabad praśasti of Samudragupta refers to his conquest of several islands[50] There is a reference to Jīvita Gupta II's army, which included a fleet of war boats[51] Later, Harsa the emperor is credited with possessing a fleet consisting of boats

The *Yuktikalpataru* of Bhoja, a medieval work of value, mentions two classes of ships One is of the ordinary kind found in inland waters, of which ten varieties are distinguished Of these, two divisions dīrghā and unnatā are mentioned according to the size Among the dīrghā or lengthwise vessels figure ten boats These are dīrghikā, taranī, lolā, gatvarā, gāminī, tarī, janghālā, plāvinī, dhārinī and veginī Unnatā boats are five in number, ūrddhvā, anūrddhvā, suvarnamukhī, garbhinī and mantharā[52] Of these the class of ships which went by the name of Agramandira was utilised for naval warfare (rane kāle ghanātyaye)[53]

Dr R K Mookerjee quotes from Elliot's *History of India*[54] a long account of a naval fight between two fleets in the eleventh century It took place during the seventeenth expedition of Sultan Mahmūd to India Arriving at Multan, Mahmūd ordered 1480 boats to be built each with three iron spikes, one on the prow and the other two on its two sides, so that whoever came into

49 *See I H Q*, VI, pp 649-50
50 *Corpus, Ins Ind*, III, p 14
51 *Ibid*, p 217
52 *R G Bhandarkar Comm Volume*, pp 451-53
53 p 228
54 Vol II 478

contact with it could be destroyed Every ship was furnished with two archers with bows and arrows and also naphtha throwers This force was opposed by the Jats who sent their families to the islands and launched according to some, 4,000 boats, and, according to others, 8,000 boats manned and equipped for immediate engagement Both fleets met and fought desperately Every boat of the Jats was broken and capsized, resulting in the drowning of several men Others who were left behind in the boats were all cruelly put to the sword

Turning to the history of South India, we have evidence to show that the country had trade and culture contacts with foreign countries like Rome in the west and the Malay Archipelago and Indo-China in the east Yavana ships laden with articles of merchandise visited the west coast of India very frequently There was active foreign trade between Tamil India and the outer world at least from about the time of Solomon, i e about 1000 B C Roman historians refer to the commercial intercourse that existed between Rome and South India [55] In the first century before Christ we hear of a Pāṇdyan embassy to Augustus Caesar [56] The Śangam classics point to the profession of pearl-diving and sea-fisheries on a large scale We hear of shipwrecks of the early Tamils saved now and then by Manimekhalai, the goddess of the sea These instances are illustrative of the commercial relations between South India and foreign countries We have the account of a Cēra king

55 See P T Srinivasa Aiyangar *History of the Tamils*, ch XVIII

56 For other activities about this period see the Periplus translated by Schoff, p 46

conquering the Kadamba in the midst of sea waters[57] The Cēra king Śenguttuvan had a fleet with which he defeated the Yavanas who were punished with their hands being tied behind their back and the pouring of ghee and oil on their heads[58]

From the evidence of the *Mahāvamsa* as well as from a few inscriptions we are able to gather some information regarding the diplomatic relations that existed between India and Ceylon We have the story of Vijaya and his followers occupying the island about 543 B C Vijaya was a prince of North India who was banished from the kingdom by his father Passing through the southern Magadha country he sailed to Ceylon, according to the *Rājāvali*, in a fleet carrying more than 700 soldiers, defeated the Yaksas inhabiting it, and settled there permanently This story is illustrated in the Ajanta frescoes

According to the Kāśikudi plates, Simhavisnu, the father of Mahēndravarman, led an expedition to Ceylon and completely defeated its king who was proud of the strength of his arms[59] During the days of Narasimhavarman I the confused politics of Ceylon made Mānavamma seek the help of the Pallava king, who in recognition of the help given by the Ceylonese prince in his conquest of Pulakeśin II, twice supplied Mānavamma with an army to invade Ceylon The second expedition was marked by signal success, as a result of which Narasimhavarman occupied Ceylon According to the Kāśikudi plates, the conquest of Ceylon by Narasimha-

57 *Padirrupattu* V

58 S K Aiyangar *Contributions of South India*, p 330

59 *SII* Vol II pt 5 p 356

varman excelled the glory of Rāma's conquest of that island[60] Nripatunga appears to have helped the Pāndya king Śrī Māra in the latter's expedition to Ceylon[61] According to the Vāyalūr pillar inscription, there seems to be an indirect but certain reference to the conquest of the Laccadive islands by Rājasimha[62] Negapatam and Māmallapuram appear to have served as naval bases during the days of the Pallavas, and during that period culture and commercial contacts continued to be maintained in the Far East This is evidenced by the *Nandikkalambakam* and the Takuapa inscription[63] The ship type of coins of the Pallavas is another evidence of their naval activities

The Pāndyan kings had close relations with Ceylon Śrī Māra's expedition to Ceylon has been referred to earlier. In the wars of Rājasimha with Parāntaka he was helped by the Ceylonese king When there was a dispute between Parākrama Pāndya and Kulaśekhara, regarding the succession to the Pāndyan throne the Ceylonese ruler sent, on request from the former, a naval brigade under Lankāpura Dandanāyaka, who after defeating Kulaśekhara erected a pillar of victory Incidents like these show that the kings of the south as well as the ruler of Ceylon had each a well equipped fleet

Likewise the Chālukyas had a strong navy The Nīlgunda Plates of Vikramāditya VI say that king Mangaliśa of the early Western Chālukyas fitted out a

60 *Ibid* *Mahāvamśa*, ch 47

61 *Ep Ind*, xviii, p 13

62 *Ibid*, p 152

63 See, for example, stanzas 46, 54 etc *J O R* VI, pp 300 ff

naval expedition against the island of Revati and captured it[64] The Aihole inscription credits Pulakeśin II with the reduction of Pūri with a fleet of 100 vessels,[65] while the Keṇdūr plates of Kīrtivarman II state that Vinayāditya, the grandson of Pulakeśin II, subjugated Ceylon with war boats[66]

The Cholas also maintained a strong fleet with which they not only invaded and subjugated Ceylon frequently but also undertook oversea expeditions Parāntaka invaded Ceylon, but his attempt was not a success Likewise during the days of Sundara Chola there was an unsuccessful expedition against Ceylon Among the conquests of Rājarāja, Ceylon was one, and his invasion of that island finds expression in the Tiruvālangādu plates[67] where it is described as follows

'Rāma built, with the aid of the monkeys, a causeway over the sea and then slew with great difficulty the king of Lankā by means of sharp-edged arrows But Rāma was excelled by this (king) whose powerful army crossed the ocean in ships and burnt the king of Lankā'

Rājarāja also sent an expedition against the Twelve Thousand Islands, obviously a reference to the Laccadives and Maldives[68] Friendly embassies were also sent by the Chola king to China

The oversea expeditions of Rājendra are more striking He conquered Ceylon and took the crown of

64 *Ep Ind*, XII, p 151

65 *Ibid*, VI, No 1

66 *Ibid*, IX, p 205

67 *S I I*, iii, p 421

68 *Ibid*, ii, p 48

the king and the more beautiful crown of his queen The greatest feat of arms performed by Rājendra was the conquest of Kadāram and other places across the sea Numerous ships carried the troops of Rājendra to Śrī Vijaya and its dependencies which he conquered Among the places conquered were Pannai (Pani or Panei on the east coast of Sumatra), Malaiyur (at the southern end of the Malay Peninsula), Ilangāśokam (in the Malay Peninsula), Māppappālam (a place in the Talaing country of Lower Burma), Talaittakkolam (modern Takkola in the west coast of the Malay Peninsula), Mudammālingam (a place facing the gulf of Siam), Ilāmurideśam (the country in the northern part of the island of Sumatra), Nakkavāram (the Nicobars) [69] Besides, active trade was carried on between South India and China during the period At the end of the 10th century the Chinese emperor sent a mission to the Chola king with credentials under the imperial seal and provisions of gold and piece-goods to induce the foreign traders of the South Sea and those who went to foreign lands beyond the sea for trade to come to China

During the reigns of the successors of Rājendra there were frequent wars between the Cholas and the Ceylonese with whom the Pāndyas were often in league In 1077 Kulottunga I sent an embassy to the Chinese court for trade purposes The men who visited the court 'were given 81,800 strings of copper cash, i e , about as many dollars in return for the articles of tribute comprising glassware, camphor, brocades (called

69 For other names and identification see the learned article by M Coedes in the *Bulletin de l' Ecole Française d' Extreme Orient*, 1918

Kimhwa in the Chinese text), rhinoceros, horns, ivory, incense, rose water, putchu asafoetida, borax, cloves, etc '[70] About 1090, the king of Sri Vijaya sent an embassy to the court of Kulottunga I after having built a *vihāra* at Śolakulavalli Pattinam, probably the modern Negapatam The facts clearly show that the Cholas maintained supremacy over the sea and kept a strong and powerful navy which was useful not only for carrying on extensive commerce with foreign countries but also for conducting military expeditions

During the days of the Kākatīyas of Wārangal, Motupalle (Guntur District) was the chief port on the east coast Ganapatideva, the Kākatīya ruler, extirpated piracy on the sea and made the sea safe for commerce with foreign countries like China and Zanzibar This policy was pursued by Rudrāmbā, his daughter

The Vijayanagar kings also claimed supremacy over the sea Since the days of Harihara I the rulers of Vijayanagar took the title of the Lord of the Eastern, Western and Southern oceans, and there were 300 ports in the empire [71] According to Ferishta, the ruler of Ceylon kept ambassadors at the Vijayanagar court and sent rich presents to the king every year Virūpākṣa the son of Harihara II is said to have conquered Ceylon and set up a pillar of victory in the island [72] 'Abd-ur-Razāk says that (Lakkanna) Dannaik, the Prime Minister of Dēvarāya II, went on a voyage to the frontier of Ceylon [73] Dēvarāya II is credited in an epigraph with

70 See K A Nilakanta Sastri *The Colas,* II, pp 25-26

71 Elliot *History of India,* IV, p 103

72 S K Aiyangar *Sources* p 53, *E I*, iii, p 228

73 Sewell *A Forgotten Empire,* p 74

having levied tribute from Ceylon (*Ilam tirai konda*)[74] Besides, Dēvarāya collected tribute from foreign countries like Pegu and Tenasserim[75] Ludovico Varthema who visited the Vijayanagar kingdom in 1504 mentions that the Vijayanagar king was then waging a war with Tenasserim.[76] Krsnadēvarāya, Acyutarāya and Sadāśivarāya each claims to have invaded Ceylon.

The activities of the Vijayanagar fleet on the west coast are also referred to by the Portuguese Timoja who commanded the Vijayanagar fleet in 1506 "was entrusted with the task of waging perpetual war with the Goa" which was then the possession of the Bijāpūr Sultans.

The Vijayanagar kings sent friendly embassies to foreign courts 'Bukka I sent an embassy through his chief explainer to the court of Taitsu, the king Emperor of China, with tributes and large presents, among which was a stone which was valuable in neutralising poison[77] These indicate in unmistakable terms that the Vijayanagar kings, as the Imperial Cholas, continued to have a good navy and retained the command of the seas

But however interesting it may be, we have little information about the administration of the naval department and the building of ships In the Vijayanagar days according to Rice the department appears to have worked under an officer called the *Nāviyadaprabhu* He was stationed at Mangalore and acted Admiral of the

74 144 of 1916, Rep, p 60

75 Sewell, *op cit*, p 302

76 Varthema, *Itinerary,* p 74

77 Bretschneider *Med Researches,* II, p 211 *Ind Ant* XL, p 140

fleet He seems to have worked under the supervision of the Prime Minister or the Commander-in-Chief[78] There was a squadron stationed off Bhaṭkal, with Goa probably as headquarters[79]

Some of the places where ships were built in South India were Calicut, Cochin, besides the Maldive islands Regarding the size of the Indian ships we have conflicting accounts, beginning with those of the Arab travellers in the ninth and tenth centuries and ending with Vasco da Gama in the sixteenth century Sulaiman remarks that the people of the Maldives "built ships and houses and executed all other works with a consummate art"[80]

The description of ships by John of Montecorvino may be taken to be illustrative of Indian ships He says "Their ships in these parts are mighty, frail and uncouth with no iron in them and no caulking They are sewn like clothes with twine And so if the twine breaks anywhere there is a breach indeed Once every year therefore there is mending of this more or less if they go to sea And they have a frail and flimsy rudder, like the top of a table, of a cubit in width, in the middle of the stern, and when they have to tack, it is done with a vast deal of trouble, and if it is blowing

78 E C viii, Sb 468

79 See *New Review*, Vol XIV Dec 1941 Here B A Saletore examines the naval policy of the Marathas. Based on the writings of two Maratha authors Krishnaji Anant Subbasad and Ramachandra Pant Amātya, the men of-war are mentioned as the gurab, the galabat, the tarandi, the tarav, the shibad, and the pagar The fleet is said to be under the command of a Subhedar or Sarsubha There was a decline of the navy under the Peshwas

80 Farrand, *Voyage*, p 32

in any way hard, they cannot tack at all They have but one sail and one mast and the sails are either of matting or miserable cloth The ropes are of husk "[81] Indian ships appear to have been small in size Barbosa observes that the Moors built keeled ships of a thousand and a thousand two hundred *bahares* burden, which would be about 224 tons[82] Varthema's account of the ships built at Calicut shows that the ships were generally 200 tons[83] According to Nicolo dei Conti, the carrying capacity of the ships was estimated at 2,000 butts or about 60,000 cubit feet

In a large number of cases the merchant ships were converted into war vessels during times of war Though the subject of Indian navigation is very interesting, it has been only very partially worked, as the material for the proper study of the subject is still scanty

81 Yule, *Cathay,* iii, pp 66-67

82 Vascoda Gama, *The First Voyage,* p 128

83 Varthema *Travels,* p 154

CHAPTER VIII

DIPLOMACY AND WAR

SECTION I

HISTORY OF DIPLOMACY

Notwithstanding the elaborate rules of war laid down in the epics and the law-books, insisting in the main that to wage war was the duty and privilege of every true Ksatriya, in several cases the horrors of war made the belligerents think of the consequences and avoid outbreak of hostilities by a well calculated policy which we now term diplomacy. A recent writer says: 'Diplomacy is the name for a method of negotiation, persuasion and conciliation for promoting the common interests of different nations, and adjusting those interests which are opposed. . . . Without the diplomatic system war would be more frequent than it is. Behind the diplomatic system, however, lie the preparations for war; and in certain forms of policy, the threat of war is used as an instrument of diplomacy.'[1] It will be shown, in the sequel, how exactly this concept was enunciated and realised in ancient India. It may be noticed at the outset that the words *negotiation, persuasion* and *conciliation* are mere translations of the terms *sāma, dāna* and *bheda,* and the expression 'threat of war' may be equated with *danda*. These four were the cardinal points of the ancient Indian diplomatic system, and were effective instruments in averting many

1 C. D. Burns: *War,* pp. 81-3.

a war, which would otherwise have resulted in much bloodshed and economic distress [2]

The political term for diplomacy is *naya,* and in the opinion of Kautalya, the eminent politician of the 4th century B C , a king who understands the true implications of diplomacy conquers the whole earth [3]

The history of diplomacy in ancient India commences with the *Rg Veda Samhitā,* and the date of its composition may be taken as far back as the Chalcolithic period [4] In the battles the help of Agni is invoked to overcome enemies He is to be the deceiver of foes [5] For it is said in another hymn that his foes are full of deceit [6] In pursuing his mission to a successful end, the use of spies is mentioned [7] This bears eloquent testimony to the system of espionage prevalent so early as the time of the *Rg Veda Samhitā* In the battle of the Ten Kings described in the seventh mandala,[8] we find the diplomacy of rulers getting supplemented by its association with priestly diplomacy,[9] which exercised a healthy influence on the constitutional evolution

2 Attention may be drawn to Kalidas Nag's book in French *Les Theories Diplomatiques de l' Inde Ancienne et l' Arthasāstra* (Paris, 1923) of which I have published a translation in the *Journal of Indian History, Madras,* 1926-27

3 नयज्ञः पृथिवीं जयति।

4 See my note on the *Culture of the Indus Valley* (*Madras University Journal,* 1934 January)

5 *RV*, iv, 15 4

6 *Ibid*, iii, 18 1

7 *Ibid*, iv 4 3

8 *Ibid*, vii, 18 33

9 See Nag, *op cit*, p 10

The diplomatic system gained more and more importance with the march of time. By the epoch of the *Atharva Veda Samhitā*[10] we find the monarch as the centre of Hindu diplomacy occupying a seemingly absolute position, but subjected to discipline by his Purohita and public opinion In this respect the ancient king differed from the Archon Basileus of Athens and the Rex sacrorum of early Rome

According to a hymn in the *Atharva Veda Samhitā,*[11] Varuna had a number of spies who were thousand-eyed and who went forth hither and thither This hymn, read along with other hymns in that Veda praying that the king may be invested with victory in battle, shows the diplomatic practices then in vogue The *Atharva Veda* recommends the conquest of enemies more by artifice and stratagem and by spells and incantations

By the time when the *Atharva Veda* was composed, the kernel of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana* had come into existence In these books we find the king gaining more power and influence War and diplomacy have come to stay They are no more in their primitive stage, but have become developed institutions The tribal system has given place to organised communities, a good number of which took a leading part in the great battle between the Pāndavas and the Kauravas[12] Even in the first parvan of the great epic, the Ādi Parvan, we find a chapter (143) which discloses a stifling atmosphere of court intrigue and currents and cross-currents of

10 *A V*, iii, iv, 1-6

11 *Ibid*, iv, 16 4

12 See for details *JRAS* 1908—Pargiter's paper

negotiation There is then a discourse on diplomacy by a distinguished diplomat, Kanika, perhaps the Kanika-Bhāradvāja of the *Arthaśāstra*, to the blind and aged Dhrtarāstra, jealous of the Pāndavas

"Kings should ever be ready with upraised sceptre and they should ever extend their prowess carefully avoiding all faults of theirs, they should ceaselessly watch for the faults of others

* * * * *

"He (a king) should so act as others (his enemies) may not find any fault in him But he should see the fault of others He should keep his resources concealed as does a tortoise his members of the body

"Having begun a particular act, he should always accomplish it A thorn, if not wholly extracted, produces a festering sore

"The killing of a harmful foe is always praiseworthy. If he be powerful, if he be escaping, if he be a great warrior, one should watch for the hour of his disaster, and then kill him without any scruple O, son, if the enemy be weak, still he should not be scorned A spark of fire can consume a forest if it can spread from object to object

"They (kings) should sometimes feign deafness and blindness, for, if they are incapable of chastising they should pretend not to notice the faults They should then consider their bows as made of straw, but they should be as watchful as a herd of deer sleeping (in the woods)

"When your enemy will be in your hands, destroy him by any means, open or secret Do not show him any mercy, though he seeks your protection

"An old enemy should be killed even by winning

him over by wealth Thus you must be free of anxiety, for there is no fear from a dead man

"Destroy all the three, five and seven sources of the enemy, you must destroy them by uprooting them

"Then you should destroy their allies and partisans. If the root is destroyed, they (allies) can never exist

"If the root of the lord of the forest (tree) is uprooted its branches and twigs can never exist as before Carefully conceal your own weaknesses and watch those of your enemies

"O, king, you should rule over your kingdom, ever being very watchful By maintaining the perpetual fire, by sacrifices, by brown cloths, by matted locks and skin cloth, you should first gain the confidence of men (your enemies) and then you must spring upon them like a wolf It is said that in earning wealth, hypocrisy is a cheap means As a hooked staff is used to bend down the bough of a tree to pluck the ripe fruits, so this method should be adopted in destroying one's own enemies

"Carry your enemy on your shoulder till the time comes when you can throw him down and break him into pieces as an earthen vessel is broken being thrown on stones

"An enemy should never be allowed to escape, even if he piteously addresses you You ought not to show him any mercy, he must be slain at once

"Enemies should be destroyed by the arts of conciliation, or the expenditure of money, or by producing disunion amongst his allies, or by the employment of every means in your power"

Being further asked by Dhrtarāstra to give him

in detail the arts of conciliation, Kanika proceeds to narrate them Its substance is as follows The king should destroy by incantations, by gifts of wealth, by poison or by deception the enemy even if he be his own son, friend, father, or preceptor In so doing, he should utter soft words, and after hitting should pity the victim and even shed tears over him Securing confidence by conciliation and gift of wealth, or by any means, the enemy must be destroyed so effectually that he may not raise his head afterwards Spies should act as diplomatic agents. Just like a fisherman catching and killing a fish, the king should tear the vitals of the enemy under a pretext In getting rid of the enemy the king should be razor-like, sharp, and shining when opportunity occurs

If this discourse, which smacks of Machiavellianism in a sense, is read together with what Bharadvāja is said to have narrated on the same subject to Śatrujit, the king of the Sauvīras, in the Śānti Parvan, we can perceive that there are certain differences, though in fundamentals there is agreement between them Despite these diplomatic intrigues, the Pāndavas came out successful and were treated to an excellent discourse by the sage Nārada, versed especially in the sixfold policy (sadguna-vidhi)

It would be a refreshing contrast to know the views of Nārada on diplomacy [13]

"With the six attributes of kings (viz, cleverness of speech, readiness in providing means, intelligence in dealing with the foe, memory, and acquaintance with morals and politics), doest thou attend to the seven

13 *Sabhāparvan*, V. 20 ff (Trans P C Ray)

means (viz, sowing dissensions, chastisement, concilia-tion, gifts, incantation, medicine and magic)? Examinest thou also, after a survey of thy own strength and weak-ness, the fourteen possessions of thy foes? These are the territory, forts, cars, elephants, cavalry, foot-soldiers, the principal officials of state, the zenana, food supply, computation of the army and income, the religious treatises in force, the accounts of state, the revenue, wine-shops and other secret enemies Attendest thou to the eight occupations (agriculture, trade, etc) after having examined, and made peace with thy enemies? O bull of the Bhārata race, thy seven principal officers of state (viz the governor of the citadel, the commander of the forces, the chief judge, the general in interior command, the chief priest, the chief physician, and the chief astrologer), have not, I hope, succumbed to the influence of thy foes, nor have they, I hope, become idle in consequence of the wealth they have earned? They are, I hope, all obedient to thee Thy counsels, I hope, are never divulged by the trusted spies in disguise, by thyself or by thy ministers? Thou ascertainest, I hope, what thy friends, foes and strangers are about? Makest thou peace and makest thou war at proper times? Observest thou neutrality towards strangers and persons that are neutral themselves towards thee

* * * * *

"Seekest thou to know everything about the eighteen tīrthas of the foe, and fifteen of thine own, by means of three spies all acquainted with one another? O slayer of all foes, watchest thou all thy enemies with care and attention, and unknown to them?[14]

* * * * *

14 *Ibid*

"Marchest thou, without loss of time, and reflecting well upon three kinds of forces, against thy foe when thou hearest that he is in distress? O, subjugator to all foes, beginnest thou thy march when the time cometh, having taken into consideration all the omens you might see, and convinced that the resolutions thou hast formed, and defeat in their execution, depend upon the twelve mandalas (such as reserves, and ambuscades, etc), and having paid the troops their pay in advance? And, O persecutor of all foes, givest thou gems and jewels, as they deserve, unto the principal officers of thy enemy, without thy enemy's knowledge? O son of Pāitha, seekest thou to conquer thy incensed foes that are slaves to their passions, having first conquered thy own soul and obtained the mastery of thy own senses? Before thou marchest out against thy foes, dost thou properly employ the four arts, conciliation, gift (of wealth), producing disunion, and application of strength? O monarch, goest thou out against thy enemies, having first strengthened thy own kingdom? And having gone out against them, exertest thou to the utmost to obtain victory over them? And having conquered them, seekest thou to protect them with care?"[15]

In the foregoing texts there is a very important term, *upadha* The term *upadhā* anticipates the diplomatic code of Kautalya The theory has been propounded that Kautalya is a close follower of the school of Kanika and that his principles are Machiavellian[16]

15 *Ibid*

16 See Beni Prasad *The Theory of Government in Ancient India*, pp 60 61 K V Rangaswami Aiyangar in *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, pp 114 15, shows similarities but insists that Machiavelli has been unfairly traduced

I have pointed out elsewhere[17] that this is not quite the correct view and cannot stand critical examination Comparing impartially the principles formulated by Kanika with those of Kautalya, we note that the Kautalīyan code is not vitiated by intrigues and cruelty in utter disregard of all morality Kautalya's political philosophy is of a high order and can fitly be compared with the theoretical principles furnished by the sage Nārada, to which we have already referred The fundamental idea common to both is that ' conquest is not an end in itself, victory is counter-balanced by responsibilities, and acquisitions by the necessity of having to provide for safeguarding them '[18]

Let me now proceed to trace in general outline the diplomacy of the Kautalīya[19] The basis of diplomacy is distinguished by seven elements (prakiti)[20] These are the svāmin (king), amātya (ministers), janapada (kingdom), durga (fortress), kośa (treasure), danda (army), and mitra (allies),[21] and are regarded as veritable elements of sovereignty But sovereignty, according to Machiavelli, Hobbes and Hegel, seems to involve no moral responsibility In other words, the State acts ' without regard to a moral standard '[22] An examination of the conditions which existed in ancient India in diplomatic practice does not warrant the conception of ' unmoral ' or ' irresponsible ' sovereignty

17 See *I H Q*, March, 1927

18 See Dikshitar *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p 124

19 Nag *op cit*, ch iv

20 *ibid*, Bk VI, ch ii

21 Cp *Agni Purāna*, ch 238, *Manu*, IX, 294, *Yājn* I 352, *Śukra*, I 61

22 See Burns *op cit*, pp 97-98

Among the seven elements, the svāmin or king was the pivot of the whole system, and his office carried with it grave and great responsibilities (svāmi sampat) There is a catalogue of virtues expected of a good king [23] According to Kautalya, sovereignty depends on the co-operation of the svāmin with the other elements like ministers, army, etc Great care was to be taken in choosing the right type of men as councillors [24] We are given an ideal description of a kingdom and a fortress, the third and fourth elements of sovereignty [25] A rich treasury, a hereditary army, mainly composed of Ksatriyas, and loyal allies are the last three elements,[26] which are rightly emphasised

We pass on to the sphere of action,[27] which goes by the name of Mandala, its conception being essentially dynamic Except the madhyama and udāsīna, the other ten of the Rājaprakrti form the ten diplomatic zones The 'circle of states' is known as the *mandala* group The credit for the invention of this new policy is attributed to Śukracārya [28] We must not confound this new political theorist with the author of the treatise now extant and edited by Dr Oppert Undoubtedly the reference is to a work lost now It is certainly not unreasonable to conjecture that Śukrācārya, the Purohit of the Asuras and a finished master of Vedic

23 Cp *Kāma,* IV 6-23

24 Bk I, ch ix

25 Bk II, ch 21

26 Bk VII, ch 116

27 *Ar Śās* VI 2, Cp *Kāma* VIII, 43-90, *Śukra* IV, 1 1 40, *Agnipurāna,* 232, *Matsya,* I, 344; *Manu,* VII, 154-58

28 *Kāma,* VIII, 22

literature, took this idea from the Vedic rituals[29] "Prajāpati, the God of Creation, once thought to himself 'May I become greater?' For this he practised fervour On this he was struck with what is known as the twelve-day rite He grasped it at once and went through the sacrifice with it He encircled the twelve-day rite with the fortification of Gāyatrī and won glory and prosperity He who understands this is sure to prosper Further, Prajāpati addressed the seasons and the months to sacrifice with him in the twelve-day rite Those of the first half joined as allies in it, by which evil was effectively removed. The other half did not join in the sacrifice, and hence were regarded as enemies He who realises this could do away with evil" It may be said that the circle of twelve states with allies and enemies could have been evolved from this conception of the twelve-day rite For it is said to consist of 12 kings, who, according to Kautalya, are Vijigīsu (the invader), Ari (immediate enemy), Mitra (invader's ally), Arimitra (enemy's ally), Mitrāmitra (invader's ally's ally), Amitrāmitra (enemy's ally's ally), Pārsni grāha (rear enemy), Ākranda (rear friend) Pārsnigrāhasāra (ally of rear enemy), and Ākrandasāra (ally of a rear ally)[30] Behind are the Madhyama and the udāsīna, wrongly interpreted by Shama Sastri[31] as 'mediatory' and 'neutral' kings Dr N N Law is right when he explains the term as 'medium' and 'super' and assigns them a right position in the circle

The Madhyama is thus a stronger power inter

29 *Ait Brā* IV 23 XIX 1 IV 25 (19 3)

30 Bk VI, ch 2

31 Trans p 290 (Third Ed)

mediate between the Vijigīṣu or the Ari on the one hand and the Udāsīna on the other   Both these are states of higher grades of strength perhaps 'to meet emergencies of references to such powers'[32]

The Vijigīṣu seems to have been invariably an emperor lording it over the states of the circle   That it was so is seen from the *Raghuvaṃśa* where Kālidāsa, the immortal poet, characterised Daśaratha as the central monarch of a mandala of twelve kings   The term Vijigīṣu occurs in the Purāṇas and means the conquering king

The *Mitākṣarā* on the verse I 345 of the *Yājñavalkya smṛti* has some interesting points on the mandala question   There are different versions as to the constitution of a circle of states   Some fix the number at four, six or eight, and others at twelve   Immediate neighbours are hostile to each other, and those succeeding the first circle or the immediate neighbours are allies to the king at the centre   The centre of the circle is composed of the conquering king (Vijigīṣu) and his immediate enemy (Ari), and on the circumference are the different mandalas of other States   Then follow orbits described in accordance with the laws of attraction and repulsion, primordial and fatal   This probably reflects the ancient astronomical theories of the movement of the stars   Thus the conception of Mandala is dynamic   The kings residing in the surrounding circles are not neutrals, as some scholars seem to opine   The Kautalīya speaks of the four kinds of foreign rulers—Ari, Mitra, Madhyama Udāsīna

Each of these States, just like the central state,

32 *Inter-State relations in Ancient India*, pp 12 and 13

possesses respectively śakti or power which is power of deliberation (mantra) with its adjunct of intellect, and power of lordship (prabhu) with its adjunct of treasury, and activity (utsāha) with its adjunct of heroic valour [33] He who possesses more of everything is superior to the other Besides, each of them possesses the five veritable elements of sovereignty the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, and the army These sixty elements with the twelve kings form the seventy-two elements of a State [34]

We notice this mandala idea in the Āśramavāsa Parvan of the *Mahābhārata* [35] This portion of the *Mahābhārata* follows the Kautalīyan principles and must be taken to be only a later addition It mentions the twelve mandalas and distinguishes four kinds of enemies It is said that these twelve, as also the sixty, having ministers for their foremost, should be looked after by the king. On these are said to depend the Sādgunya Or rather the attributes of these sixfold incidents rest on the seventy-two elements (12 and 60), and if this is carefully understood, a king might feel desirous of conquering the whole earth We shall examine in the sequel the sixfold incidents The foregoing survey makes one thing clear, viz the increasing power of the ministers in the *Arthaśāstra* polity as contrasted with the king as the most important figure in the polity of the epic age As we have it in modern times, the policy expressed through diplomacy was primarily in the hands of ministers of State in the fourth century

33 *STR*, V 7 14 39
34 *Ar Śās*, VI, 1
35 Ch VI 1 6 See also Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha*, canto II

B C, as it is definitely laid down that the king can do nothing of his own will without consultation with his councillors Hence the ministers are prominently mentioned among the seven elements and the seventy-two elements as well It would be surely wrong to bring this kind of sovereignty into line with the idea of an unmoral and irresponsible sovereignty propounded by European writers of the Machiavellian type

SECTION II

THE SIXFOLD POLICY

Sādgunyam[36] has been translated in different ways, such as sixfold incidents, sixfold policy, and sixfold action or method[37] These six methods are Sandhi or peace, Vigraha or war (sometimes used in the sense of a diplomatic conquest), Āsana or maintaining a post against an enemy, Yāna or preparedness for attack, Samśraya or friendship, and lastly Dvaidībhāva or double-dealing or duplicity There are differences of opinion among political theorists with regard to their number and classification For instance, Vātavyādhi says that Sandhi and Vigraha — peace and war — form the basis of the sixfold policy But Kautalya's theory comprehended all the six methods The conditions that determine the course of action are Daiva (providential) and Mānusa (human) The former is either naya or anaya (favourable or otherwise), whilst the latter is either naya or apanaya (equitable or other-

36 *Ar Śās* II, p 23 (Trivandrum Series), *Rāma*, VI, 14 22 Govindarāja's Gloss

37 *Ar Śās* VI 98-99, *Agnipurānā*, Chs 233 239 *Manu*, VII, 159-180 *Śukra* IV, 7 232 *Kāma* ch 11

wise)[38] These circumstances must be weighed in the balance of Kṣaya (low ebb), Sthāna (inactivity), and Vṛddhi (high tide), before a course of action is determined upon[39] It is laid down that the invading monarch should set out for conquest when the enemy is slack and when his own State is in a condition of prosperity, with soldiers and animals in good condition[40] He must influence the movements of the *madhyama* and *udāsina* kings also, by any of the four expedients of statecraft such as Sama (conciliation), Dana (gift), Bheda (dissension), and Danda (coercion), or by using all of them simultaneously It must be his endeavour to bring other kings under his dominion by such diplomatic methods[41] For it is realised that war is an evil and full of horrors and that it should be avoided as far as possible Kautalya, who is actuated by honest motives, does not see anything dishonest or immoral in the employment of diplomacy and he naturally assigns to it a large place in the scheme of his work This he seeks to achieve, statesman as he is, by any kind of *entente* The nature of *entente* rests upon the strength and resources of the parties concerned Alliance (āśraya) should be sought with good kings and must be kept up to the end Rāma allied himself with Sugrīva against the unrighteous Vāli, and with Vibhīsana against the immoral Rāvaṇa Of the six expedients to be pursued in foreign policy by a conqueror, the first is that peace may be concluded with equals and superiors

38 *Br. Nīti* VI 1

39 *Ar Śās* Bk VI, ch 2, Cp *Mhb., Āśrama vāsa*, ch 6 6

40 *Śānti* 113, *Sāi asāram balam, Ar Śās* VII 1, *Manu*, 7 15", *Yāj*. I, 347-9

41 *Manu*. VII 159, *Visnu* ch iii

SANDHI OR THE TREATY SYSTEM

This is a frank and open procedure in diplomacy To seek war would be ruinous to both the contending parties To undertake an operation against a superior is like a foot-soldier opposing an elephant, and to make war against an equal is but the collision of unbaked mud vessels against each other causing mutual destruction [42] But the inferior must be attacked and made to submit if the differences cannot be amicably settled There are also cases where an inferior king may sue for alliance with a superior by offering himself to help the latter with army, wealth, or land This is called the Hīna sandhi [43]

The following is a list of *entente* methods under the category of danda [44] When the inferior king delivers himself to a superior that *entente* is called ātmamisa, and when he offers as a hostage his general or commander-in-chief or Crown Prince, it is purusāntara If he is allowed to withdraw with his army, it is adista-purusa In case the treasury is offered, the *entente* is pārikraya (dependent on money) and upagraha (dependent on heavy charges), ātyaya (harmful in space and time), suvarna (dependent on indemnity), with their opposite kapāla (involving heavy indemnities) In case land is surrendered, the *entente* is adista (by cession), ucchinna (all land except the capital), apakraya (liberation of the territory by imposts), and paribhūsana (by homage) These are the different kinds of alliances entered into by inferior powers

42 *Ar Śās* VIII 3, Cp Mallinātha on *Raghu* 17 56

43 Bk VII 3, p 253 Vol II (Triv Sans Series)

44 Cp *S T R* 5 11 40-45

Alliances may be temporary (calasandhi) or permanent (sthāvarasandhi)[45] In other words, the latter is stable and the former is only a time marking device The following is the list of alliances which may be made (1) Mitrasandhi (agreement with an ally on definite terms, (2) Hiranyasandhi (for gold), (3) Bhūmisandhi (by acquisition of territory), (4) Karmasandhi (use of army and treasury for common enterprises), (5) Anavasitasandhi (help in colonising an unsettled tract) These are elaborately explained by Kautalya[46]

Dr Nag takes mitra and hiranyasandhi as one and hence he considers paripanitāparipanitāpasrstasandhi as the fourth But we take mitra and hiranyasandhi as two different agreements The term paripanitāparipanitāpasrstasandhi is thus explained An agreement entered into in mutual faith is definite (paripanita), and the others are indefinite (aparipanita) We need not enter into the details of each of these It is enough to say that they were deemed mutually advantageous and profitable in the long run But it is a deceitful alliance (atisandhi) when one has the opportunity to overreach the other, whether equal (sama) or unequal (viṣama)

The Kautalīya proceeds to trace the four different stages in the evolution of a sandhi[47] The first is termed akrtacikīrṣa or peace with no specific end Here the arts of conciliation and other modes of diplomacy are employed, and the rights of respective powers, equal, inferior and superior, are clearly defined. The second is

45 *Ar Śās*, VII ch 17

46 *Ibid* VII chs 9 to 12

47 *Ar Śās* VII, ch 6

kṛtāślesanam or peace with specific terms. In this case the agreement made continues intact, and its provisions are strictly observed, through the medium of common friends. The third is kṛtāvidūsanam or violating the peace terms. If it is seen that one party is treacherous and violates the terms of agreement through the agency of traitors and spies, that agreement is broken. The last is avaśīrna kriyā or the restoration of peace when broken. On a promise to observe the provisions of the treaty strictly, a reconciliation is effected. The restoration of the original compact depends on the peculiar circumstances of the case. For there can be no true reconciliation with those who break the *entente* and then express a wish to join, offering no satisfactory explanation of their previous action. The same holds good with persons of outrageous conduct and those who are unsteady. In formulating these principles, a critical study of the relevant portions of the *Arthaśāstra* shows that its author is lenient to a fault. For he lays down the rule that "whoever annoys the enemy should be accepted and he who does equal harm to both should be politically examined."

Particular care is to be taken in making political compacts. Kautalya condemns in unequivocal terms indiscriminate alliances. It is said that a king should not make peace with a minor, an old man, an invalid one deserted by his kith and kin, a coward, a greedy man, an unbeliever in God, and other fourteen kinds of disqualified men. But these must be fought and conquered.

Vigraha. Though seemingly utilitarian in his attitude, Kauṭalya attaches more value to a diplomatic struggle than to an armed contest which goes by the

name of sāmgrāmika[48] Vigraha is a diplomatic contest, and is but a means to the end, viz, to avoid regular warfare[49] There can be no clearer indication of the fact that laws of war and peace had already reached a sufficiently high level in our land in those times This second line of action or the method of hostilities is according to the *Śivatattvaratnākara*, of eight kinds.[50] This indicates the progress of military science in the diplomatic sphere Kāma Vigraha (a war where love of woman is the cause), Lobhaja (a strife born of greed), Bhū-vigraha (a struggle about some piece of territory), Mānasambhava (one due to the wounded sense of honour), abhaya (fighting for friends and relatives), Icchāja (born of ambition), Madotthita (due to sheer haughtiness and folly), and Ekadravyābhilāsa (aiming at a particular object) Though various causes contributed to the outbreak of hostilities and though thirst for military renown fired the zeal of the parties, yet proof is not lacking to demonstrate that wars of aggression were few and far between It is further laid down that a king must avoid sixteen different kinds of war[51] such as those where the result is uncertain, where it is a violation of the existing treaty rights, where it affects the law of international relations, where the strength of the enemy cannot be calculated, where it would result in a tedious and protracted war, and where adverse consequences are certain

48 *Ibid* Bk X

49 Cp *Manu* VII, 107-8, 198-9

50 Though a late work it is valuable as it transmits the Indian tradition faithfully (5 11 46f)

51 *S T R* 5 12 7 ff, *Śukra* IV, 7 250.

In this connexion it is interesting to read a section in the Kautaliya entitled 'Yatavyavrtti'[52] Here the discussion centres around the conduct of an assailable power Here Kautalya gives a description of diplomatic struggles carried on between attacking and attackable powers, every one of them trying to get an advantage over the other[53] In the concept of Vigrahaka, there is postponement of actual fighting even after war is declared[54] A bargain is effected with little or even no profit, with an eye always to the future permanent gain This diplomatic war generally came to an end by ceding soldiers, money, or an ally It was realised that this method was more profitable than that obtained by regular wars

Āsana The third method of āsana is loosely interpreted by some scholars as 'neutrality', but it may mean 'holding a post against an enemy' It is of ten kinds These are Svasthāna (to hold one's own place), Upeksā (indifference), Mārgarodha (blocking canals and channels), Durgasādhya (possession of a fort), Rāstrasvīkarana (bringing the enemy under control), Ramanīya (to maintain a post pleasantly), Nikatāsana (defeating the enemy at a place near his own), Dūra mārga (selecting choice sites and owning them), Pralopāsana (stabilising his power in the conquered country), and Parādhīna (by taking refuge with a superior king)

Some aspects of neutrality are implied by this term *āsana* This opens the discussion on neutrality in

52 VII 8

53 See Nag *op cit* ch iv

54 Cp *Manu*, VII, 161

general Wheaton has remarked "According to the laws of war, observed even by the most civilised nations of antiquity, the right of one nation to remain at peace, while other neighbouring nations were engaged in war, was not admitted to exist "[55] Surely, the political theorist had not in mind the principles of ancient Indian polity, however it may be true of ancient Greece and Rome[56] According to Henry Wheaton, a State was either an ally or an enemy There was no intermediate relation But a careful study of the working of the Hindu circle of States reveals a number of intermediary relationships Both the terms, Madhyama and Udāsīna, of which mention has been made, corresponded to what we to-day understand by the neutral king The Udāsīna's territory was the neutral zone, and here prevailed the laws of peace in actual practice

Kautalya defines the Madhyama thus 'He is the king who occupied a territory close to both the conqueror and his immediate enemy in front and who is capable of helping both the kings, whether united or disunited or of resisting either of them individually' The Udāsīna is that king 'who is situated beyond the territory of any of the above kings and who is very powerful and capable of helping the enemy, the conqueror, and the Madhyama king together or individually'[57] Thus both the Madhyama and the Udāsīna occupied interior zones, apart from diplomatic zones It is not quite possible to draw a clear line of distinction between them But still it has

55 *Elements of International Law*, p 564 (London, 1904)

56 See in this connexion S V Viswanatha *International Law in Ancient India*, ch X

57 Bk VI ch ii, Shama Sastri's translation

been said by some scholars that the Madhyama is more a mediator than a pronounced neutral In certain cases it is true that the conqueror entered the Madhyama territory, but there is no precedent for the invasion of the Udāsīna kingdom [58] The Udāsīna pursued the policy of non-intervention accepted by the diplomatic code of the mandala [59]

To return to the term *āsana* with which we are at present concerned, it occurs in the Tālgunda pillar inscriptions [60] According to this epigraph the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman observed the state of āsana, and was yet a terror to sāmantas and other chieftains For he possessed the three śaktis (prabhu, utsāha and mantra), and hence he had gained a spirit of mastery In the case of Kākusthavarman, it was a question of armed neutrality It is reasonable to conjecture that Kautalya also envisages a condition of armed neutrality, though these kings strictly remained neutral [61]

Yāna The next method is *yāna* Kautalya explains *abhyuncayo yānam* and Ganapati Sastri comments *śaktideśakāla* [62] It means preparedness to march, having due regard to army, place and time Different kinds of this *yāna* are distinguished The chief are Sandhānaja (marching with ally), Pārsnirodha (attacking from the rear), Mitravigrahini (causing dissension between his ally and the enemy), Dvandvaja (taking the offensive without the crumbling of the defences), Nirvyāja (marching with an invincible army), Kulya

58 *Ar Śās* Bk VII, ch 18
59 Cp *Śukra* IV, 7 237
60 *Ep Ind* VII, No 5, 1 13
61 See Viswanatha *op cit*, p 196
62 Vol II p 238 (T S S Series)

(helped by his enemy's vassals) and Śīghragāminī (pretend to march against one enemy, but suddenly turning towards another)[63] An invading king could embark on a march after properly safeguarding his own State, if he felt confident that he would be able to destroy the enemy's works[64] In a later section of the Kautalīya the diplomatic utility of the *yāna* is furnished[65] If the conqueror finds his enemy beset by troubles, and his subjects disaffected and disunited, and his kingdom ravaged by pestilence and other ills, then he may attack (vigraha yānam) He could again resort to *yāna* if he found his allies in front and in the rear of his enemy, also he must get heavily backed by his own subjects There was the sandhāya *yānam* which was to lead an expedition against the enemy in front after making a peace with the rear enemy The third was the sambhūya-prayānam or preparedness for march by a confederation of States of different resources, fixing the ratio of the spoils to be taken by them

Samśraya[66] Samśraya was the fifth policy under the category of sādgunyam It literally means 'support' and in its broader sense means the seeking of the support of allies This state of affairs emerges when a king feels that he has not the wherewithal to defend his kingdom against a possible attack of the enemy and also feels his inability to weaken otherwise the resources of his enemy It is the firmness of the prospect and of deterioration moving on to well conceived strategy

63 *S T R*, 5 11 57 ff
64 *Ar Śās* VII, 1
65 *Ibid*, VII 4
66 Cp *S T R*, 5 12 24-29

through vigorous efforts[67] This was provided for by an alliance with a ruler of superior power There is in the succeeding section an interesting discussion which centres round the nature of alliance Any alliance with a great power may be tolerated as stopgap Permanent arrangements stand condemned, perhaps there was the fear and consequent gravity of strategic setbacks A weak king should wait for some opportunity by watching the movements of his enemy, and if any such occasion should occur, he must seize it promptly and remove him from his path completely If he, again, finds himself situated between two strong powers, he must enter into a compact with both of them and slowly set one of them against the other, causing a dissension or division in their ranks At that time he may put each down separately by secret or covert means. Since no risk can be taken, an alliance must be entered into with him in whom the king has complete confidence and whose friendship is sincere and genuine

Dvaidhībhāva The sixth method of state policy in respect of foreign relations is Dvaidhībhāva, which means practising duplicity against one's enemies invariably through fear of them Dr Shama Sastri's interpretation, 'making peace with one and waging war with another', is thus subject to correction Underneath this policy lies an attitude of duplicity[68] The Śrīmūlam commentary[69] explains the term as meaning the 'policy of inducing in two enemies confidence by mere speech but behaving inimically in secret' This policy is to be

67 *Ar Śās* VII, 1

68 *Ar Śās* VII 1 *Kām* Ch 11 23 ff

69 Vol II p 238

adopted only when help is not possible from any other source Kāmandaka compares the behaviour of such a conquering monarch to the eyes of a cow [70]

This policy is set forth thus "The conquering king invokes the aid of his potential enemy Having combined with a neighbouring king, the conqueror may march against another neighbouring king Or, if he thinks that my enemy will neither capture my rear nor make an alliance with my assailable enemy against whom I am going to march I shall have double the strength possessed by him, i e, the enemy suing peace, (my ally) will not only facilitate the collection of my revenue and supplies and put down the internal enemies who are causing me immense trouble, but also punish wild tribes and their followers entrenched in their strongholds, reduce my assailable enemy to a precarious condition or compel him to accept the proffered peace, and having received as much profit as he desires, he will endeavour to reconcile other enemies to me', then the conqueror may proclaim war against one and make peace with another, and endeavour to get an army for money or money for the supply of an army from among his neighbouring kings [71] It is rather difficult to make out the exact recommendation in pursuance of the policy of *dvaidhībhāva*

Five kinds of this policy are distinguished in later literature [72] These are Mithyacitta (to dislike one in his heart of hearts but pretend to be friendly towards him),

70 *Kāma* XI 23-6 Cf *Manu*, VII, 160, Comm *Bār Sūtra*, V 5-7, *Pañcatantra Reconstructed*, p 360

71 Bk VII ch vii

72 *J T R*, 5 12 30-41

Mithya-vacanasamjña (to speak out one thing while having in mind just the opposite), Mithyakarana (doing things as if for his good, but to subvert him in the end), Ubhayavetana (to secretly accept illicit emoluments from the enemy while continuing in his master's service), and Yugmaprābhrtaka (to pretend to collect men and money for another's expedition, but on the other hand to serve his own purposes) [73]

SECTION III

INSTRUMENTS OF DIPLOMACY OR THE SEVEN EXPEDIENTS

The application of the six methods of foreign policy was through the four means of sāma, dāna, bheda, and danda, either severally or jointly According to the *Arthaśāstra* and the epics these are the recognized traditional expedients, which are found only in germ in Vedic literature. The Purāna literature and later nīti works like the *Kāmandakīya* add three more to this fourfold classification [74] These are upeksa, māyā, and indrajāla This shows unmistakably the slow but sure advance in the art of war and peace, for the influence of diplomacy is felt in both

Let us now proceed to examine each of these several modes of diplomacy, with regard to their nature and application The *Matsya Purāna* rules that one and the same policy cannot be pursued at all times and towards all persons In fact, the Purāna sets forth the theory that in the world the people are either righteous or

73 *STR*, 5 12 31 f

74 See *Matsya P* ch 222 2-3 *Kāma* ch 18

unrighteous, and therefore the application of the policy should differ from person to person For instance, it speaks of a twofold classification of the first diplomatic mode or sāma Sāma literally means conciliation, and according to the Purāna there is the division into satya sāma and asatya sāma While the first or satya sāma was applied to righteous persons, the asatya sāma was used towards the unrighteous The righteous king was easily reconciled when an earnest appeal was made to his ancient family traditions, and when his action in other spheres was approved If the same policy was pursued towards the unrighteous, surely it would endanger the conqueror's position For the wicked king would be led to think of the conqueror's weakness and indulge in more mischief Towards him is therefore recommended asatya sāma which was seemingly a reconciliation but in reality insincere For in the case of an unrighteous monarch no amount of appeal to family traditions or appreciation of his actions would move him even an inch from his policy [75]

The implications of this diplomatic means of sāma are found buried in the texts of the *Dharmaśāstra* and *Arthaśāstra* The conquering king is asked to observe this policy of conciliation by the promise of protection of villages and forests, of sheep and cattle, of roads and traffic, of the restoration of the banished and of the runaway [76] Kautalya recommends the application of this policy towards the conquered king so that the latter may remain loyal [77] The sāma was again a method to

75 See also *Kāma* ch 18 19 f

76 Bk VII, ch 16

77 *Ibid*

bring weaker kings under one's control. If the weak king could not be brought down by a policy of conciliation alone, the other means of dāna or gift might be employed. With the passage of time, five kinds of sāma were distinguished, as is seen in the *Śivatattva-ratnākara*.[78] Surely in diplomacy it was not a question of stagnation but of progress of ideas.

Dāna. The next policy of diplomatic utility was dāna or gift. As we have already seen, Kautalya recommends the policy of conciliation and of gifts to inferior kings. The policy of gifts was put into operation if the straight method of conciliation did not produce the intended effect. It is said in the *Matsya Purāna* that even the gods are brought round through gifts of wealth and other presents.[79] Gifts were often the temptation—this is true largely to-day also—to win over the recalcitrant and the rebellious.

This policy also met another situation. It may be that sometimes the local chiefs or leaders joined hands with foreigners and rose against the king. In such cases Kautalya recommends the policy of sāma and dāna towards the discontented subjects, so that they might give up their unholy alliance with the aliens. After ensuring peace at home, the conqueror is asked to apply the policy of bheda and danda towards the foreigner. In this recommendation and the equally statesmanlike principle that the internal danger must be suppressed first before the external danger should be met, Kautalya shows himself a keen politician, and anticipates many of our modern statesmen. This

78 *S T R*, 5, 12, 50 ff.

79 Cp. *Kāma* ch. 18, 21 f.

recommendation of a practical statesman is supported by the views of law-givers like Manu[80] But Manu does not attach much value either to the policy of gifts or the other diplomatic means like bheda For does he not say that Pandits or those who are versed in such technical literature, hold the opinion that from the point of view of progress of the kingdom only sāma and danda are the best?[81] Thus the policy of gifts, though effective in several cases, is assigned a secondary place in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* The *Śrutattvaratnākara* mentions as many as sixteen kinds of dāna or gift,[82] thus improving on the few kinds of gifts mentioned by the *Arthaśāstra* Under the category come political marriage alliances To cite an instance, Yaugandharāyana, the minister of Udayana, arranged a matrimonial alliance between his king and the sister of the Magadha king Darśaka, which procured Darśaka's support to the Vatsa country and strengthened Udayana's hands[83] Instances of such marriages can be multiplied[84] To mention only a few, we have the marriage alliance of Vākātakas and Guptas, of the Cholas and Cheras, the Cholas and Chālukyas, of the Licchavis and the Guptas In his discussion on gifts, Kautalya uses the term abhaya and it is explained in the Śrīmūlam commentary as अर्थाद् दानशत्रुभ्यो भयप्रसङ्ग meaning the gift awarded in the shape of wealth to avert the fear caused by the enemy Other-

80 VII 107 81 *Ibid* 109 82 *S T R*, 5 12 59 ff

83 Note Rājarāja's and Rājēndra's marriage alliances with the Eastern Chālukya princes, so as to secure their alliance and turn the flank against their hereditary enemies, the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāni See also Bhāsa—a study by A D Pusalkar, pp 27, 86

84 See *Kāma* ch 18, 24-41

wise the term is inexplicable Shama Sastri's interpretation as 'absence of fear' does not convey any sense if looked at from the point of view of dāna Kautalya evidently wanted to practise economy both of arms and means

Bheda Let us now turn to the third expedient, viz, bheda[85] To quote again the *Matsya Purāna,* this policy of bheda or dissension should be pursued towards the unrighteous It is the policy of 'divide and rule' A kingdom is apt to be troubled by internal dissensions as well as by external aggression To launch a policy of either aggression or defence, internal peace is essential Towards this end, the Purāna recommends the use of the policy of bheda To conquer an enemy is to create division among his kinsmen or among his subjects and to attack him when they are disunited Or again, if it were a confederation of the enemy and his allies, the invader must insert the thin end of the wedge among the different members of the confederation, and strike him at the psychological moment, if he should hear of a division in their organised effort Manu does not attach much value to this policy According to Kautalya, however it is an effective weapon to bring even a strong king to his knees Kautalya definitely rules that by the policy of bheda or danda which means the threat of war, a great power may be subdued According to the *Arthaśāstra,* there were different ways of sowing seeds of dissension These are by instigating any one of the neighbouring kings, a wild chief, a scion of the enemy's family, or an important prince[86] The *Śivatattva-*

85 *Matsya* P, ch 223

86 Bk VII ch 16 See trans

ratnākara refers to six kinds of bheda, and shows, as in others, a distinct advance over the Kautalyan tradition These are Prānahāni (involving life and death), Mānabhanga (where honour is at stake), Dhanahāni (appealing to a rich enemy's avariciousness), Bandhaka (creating fear of imprisonment in the enemy's ally), Dārābhilāsa (the enemy coveting his ally's wife), and Angabhanga (the enemy's covetousness of his ally's kingdom) [87]

Danda We now pass on to Danda, the last mode of policy according to the epic tradition Danda is not actual punishment or opening of hostilities It is a diplomatic war, not an armed contest It is a threat of war, generally applied as a last resort before the actual commencement of fighting Recourse was had to this policy if the three, sāma, dāna and bheda, had been applied separately or conjointly, and had been found ineffective to achieve the purpose According to Kautalya this policy of danda should be followed in the case of stronger powers Sometimes a threat of war might lead to open battle [88] This is the use of diplomacy in war Different modes of danda are mentioned [89] One was to capture the enemy in open fight The second was to subdue him by resorting to treacherous warfare The third was to strike him by planning a secret conspiracy The last was to besiege his fortress to create panic and to capture him during the tumult and confusion caused by the fall of the fortress If the conquered king behaves better, he should be reinstated

87 *STR*, 5 12 60ff

88 See *Kārṇa* ch 18 41 f

89 *Ar. Śās* Bk VII 16

Upekṣā It has been well realised that the application of danda cannot be resorted to by all monarchs How could an inferior power meet a stronger power in open warfare? Even the use of treachery or duplicity on his part would not give him success In that case what should be the policy to be adopted by the weaker State? The *Matsya Purāna* envisages a similar situation and recommends the diplomatic policy of upeksā In the midst of superior powers a lesser power should pursue upeksā or indifference Already in the Kautalīya, this upeksā is mentioned, not as a separate policy but as an aspect of the Udāsīna attitude In other words, Kautalya asks a neutral power to cultivate the virtue of indifference towards his neighbours, whether they be his allies or foes The ethics of international law, as the ancient Hindus conceived it, respected this neutral power, and no belligerent was prepared to take notice of this ruler of indifferent attitude [90] From the Kautalyan sense of upeksā, it is a distinct advance in the science of diplomacy to regard upeksā as one of the expedients, which was the privilege of the weaker power to adopt Either this power should ever remain in that neutral or indifferent attitude, or it should pursue that until the time when it would feel strong enough to meet the adversary in the open field There seems to be the further implication that even in case the more powerful State should give trouble unprovoked, it was for the smaller power to endure it for the time being, and not to retaliate In such cases patience has its own reward [91] In another section Kāmandaka speaks of a threefold upeksā and cites the classical examples of the Virāta

90 *Ar Śās* VII 18 91 See *Kāma* ch 11 21 f

king leaving alone the wicked Kīcaka, and Bhīmasena leaving uninjured Hidimba's brother.[92]

Māyā To the above-mentioned diplomatic attitudes, which are accepted by the orthodox *Arthaśāstra* literature, are added māyā and indrajāla These two partake, as we shall see, of the character of base diplomacy For the conquering king would discard the straight path, and try his best to hoodwink the enemy by a recourse to the expedient māyā Māyā means illusion and therefore in that sense the invader would put to use all illusory powers to deceive the enemy, and strike him at his weak point This expedient must be considered as a baser kind of diplomacy There are different uses of this policy But there is no reason to doubt that the application of the policy of māyā consisted of cunning and intrigue Surely, this was one of the methods of danda as prescribed by Kautalya Except for the opinion that treacherous warfare could be indulged in, there is no more detail given by him In invoking the aid of this expedient, it can be noticed that no warfare is implied here, and success over an adversary was to be achieved by a network of intrigue and counter-intrigue Some interesting details can, however, be gathered from the *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* The conqueror is asked to get himself dressed as a god, or a pillar, and when the enemy comes to worship, to slay him. Other cases of disguise are mentioned The use of parachutes in the last World War perhaps approximates to this principle The king might visit the enemy in the disguise of a woman,[93] of a devil, or an evil spirit, and

92 *Ibid* ch 18, 57-9

93 Cf. *Devīcandraguptam* See Dr V Raghavan, *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Vol II No 1 p 24

slay him when at close quarters The māyā was twofold, mānuṣa and amānuṣi or daiva The *Mahābhārata* cites the instance of Kīcaka's death by Bhīmasena in Draupadī's disguise [94]

This method and the next, namely Indrajāla, must go to demonstrate a noticeable deterioration in the concept of international morality If it ever existed in actual politics, it must have come into being after the Mauryan epoch, for it is not among the accepted principles of the Kautalyan diplomacy

Indrajāla The last of the expedients which had the acceptance of the later Nīti writers, in whose works we find traces of deviation of religious principles from things purely secular, was indrajāla A close and careful examination of the uses for which this policy was followed indicates that it partook of the nature and character of māyā This is, in other words, the use of stratagem to win-over the enemy It may also be the use of stratagem in war It seems to us that these two expedients were the outcome of the growing popularity of the *Atharva Veda Samhita* and its tenets [95] Here we have a number of spells and charms, surely of baser kinds, to achieve one's end These were by slow degrees increasingly used in wars and in the subjugation of the recalcitrant and the rebellious Even the Buddhist canonical books, which are supposed to breathe an air of higher ethical atmosphere, countenance these intriguing and superstitious methods For example, we read several of these things in the section Brahmajālasutta of

94 Ch 18, 53-6

95 For instance see Bk X, 5

the *Dīgha-Nikāya* [96] It reads something like a summary of the important Atharvan rites and recommendations [97] The following details of this device of indrajāla are mentioned in the Kāmandakīya [98] 'Alluring the troops of the enemy out of their camps, villages and castles into pastures, a cool-headed king should slay them Concealing the inefficient portion of the army and with the rest of it supported by the allies, a king should crush the foe, falling upon him even like a lion '[99]

These last three methods, upeksā, māyā, and indrajāla, were indeed recognised, to use modern phraseology, as safeguards for minorities against the unscrupulous aggression of superior powers According to Kāmandaka, these three expedients are only aspects of the four main upāyas sāma, dāna, bheda and danda He says māyā is an aspect of danda So also upeksā and indrajāla are included as aspects of bheda [100] As these different kinds of expedients have different objectives in view, each must be applied according to circumstances If some cases require a combination of one or two methods, that must be also resorted to In the course of the application of dāna, sāma may also be used In the course of sāma and bheda, dāna may be used The section of the Kāmandakīya dealing with this subject is concluded thus

96 Vol I pp 1-46, See also B C Law *A History of Pali Literature*, pp 81 f, Cp Winternitz *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol II, p 36

97 Cp *A V* Bk X, 5

98 *Kāma* Ch 18 60 61

99 Dutt's trans

100 See the Commentary of Śankarārya on st 61

'That diplomat who uses these different modes of policy with due regard to place, time and resources, against the enemy and his own force, will attain success, and he who does not make use of them in his domestic and foreign policy will be but like a blind man '[101] By employing these seven expedients based on the sixfold policy, a conquering king, it is said, earns the much coveted title of 'Sārvabhauma '[102]

SECTION IV

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

We now proceed to refer to some of the diplomatic relations which existed between India and the outer world The picture presented in the epics and the *Arthaśāstra* literature seems to be confined to the four corners of this Bharatakhanda It is difficult to say whether India had any international relations with the outside world The intercourse as envisaged in the literature, shows relations to be more commercial than political in character But political relations with foreign countries became a matter of importance from the epoch of Chandragupta Maurya, if not earlier

Strabo quotes Megasthenes and says that the Indians were not engaged in wars with foreigners outside India nor was their country invaded by any foreign power except by Hercules and Dionysius and lately by the Macedonians There is documentary evidence to indicate the naval expedition led by Darius about 517 B C and the Persian conquest of the North-west But there were

101 *Ibid* 65
102 *S T.R*, 5 12 128

friendly relations of Chandragupta with Seleukos Nikator, of Bindusāra with Antiochus, of Aśoka and Samudragupta with Ceylon, of Pulakeśi with Persians, of Harsa with Nepal and China, of the Cholas with Śrī Vijaya And when the conception of the State grew into an Imperial one, and when the Indian Empire became a separate entity, the problem of the North-West Frontier, through which entered all the great invading hosts of India, engaged the emperor's attention The frontier, says Lord Ronaldshay, 'possesses the possibilities of complications which cannot arise in a simple frontier consisting of a single boundary line more or less demarcated between one state and another, for it offers the option of two alternative policies It is either absorption by the paramount power or non-interference' In this the Hindu kings succeeded more by diplomacy than by conquest We also know from authentic history how Chandragupta Maurya was able to create a scientific frontier which is still a problem for the British Government in India for wellnigh over a century

A writer in the *Cambridge History of India* remarks 'It is in foreign policy that we find the culmination of the Indian genius for systematic exposition, the principles being those of Machiavelli Policy has not large aims the mainspring is the rivalry of the kings and the much applauded desire for glory and Imperial rule' These statements are rather misleading In the first place, it was not Machiavellian as has been already pointed out Secondly, the idea that the policy was imbued not with larger aims but only with rivalry and glory, cannot be accepted The ideal was not mundane It was something higher and nobler and consequently spiritual Rapson says "It was always regarded as a

legitimate object of the ambition of every king to aim at the position of Cakravartin or of supreme monarch " This ambition was legitimate and had no narrow outlook about it. It was not the exclusive privilege of this or that sovereign, but a fruit to be sought after by every one of the monarchs comprising the mandala If the king is not actuated by this idea, he falls short of an ideal king according to the Hindu Rājadharma Samudragupta, for instance, was full of this ideal His conquests were not made for the sake of mere territorial ambition, but to attain the larger end, namely the realisation of Indrahood As has been already said, Heaven is the ultimate goal and its attainment neces sitates the conquest of this earth by the Ksatriya In a word, conquest is a means to a greater end, namely, happiness and glory in Heaven

CHAPTER IX

DIPLOMATIC AGENTS

SECTION I

THE PLACE AND FUNCTION OF AMBASSADORS

The institution of ambassadors is not a peculiar feature of modern times In the ancient diplomatic code of the Hindus it held an honoured place Ambassadors in general occupied a very high and enviable position as befitting their status and function From the earliest literary records which include the huge mass of Vedic literature, the dūta figures prominently In the concept of the Vedic pantheon, Agni is the accredited messenger of the gods He is the Devadūta, as happily rendered by Ilanko Adigal in his immortal work, the *Śilappadhikāram* Commencing with the *Ṛg Veda Samhitā,* it is noticed that the two diplomatic agents dūta and cāra were in existence[1] In the *Taittirīya Samhitā*[2] there is the term *prahita* as distinct from the dūta and meaning an envoy On the authority of the celebrated commentater Sāyana, the dūta is one skilled in getting correct information as to the strength and position of the enemy's forces[3] Prahita is explained as an envoy sent by his master[4] In that sense again the *Atharva Veda Samhitā* uses these terms

1 I 121

2 IV 57

3 परसैन्यवृत्तान्तज्ञापनकुशल, |

4 स्वामिना प्रतपुरुष |

Thus it is seen that the institution of ambassadors is a very ancient one The *Manavadharmasāstra*[5] mentions the qualifications of this important official He should belong to a noble family, be intelligent, honest, industrious and versed in all sciences, and possess the faculty of reading others' thoughts and feelings from their appearance and behaviour He must also have an attractive personality and be dexterous, loyal, courageous and capable of discerning things in their true spirit according to time and place, and above all, he must possess a good voice and fine delivery According to Kautalya,[6] ambassadors may be divided into three classes, nisrstārtha, parimitartha and sasanahara The first class, who had many miscellaneous functions to perform, must be fully qualified, that is they must have all the qualifications of ministers According to Kautalya, the minister should be of a good family, fully versed in all sciences, capable of self-sacrifice, highly devoted to his state and sovereign, pure hearted and wise The second class of envoys are these who are entrusted with a single definite mission, and hence men possessing less of the above qualifications would suffice. The śāsanaharas or the third class of envoys were mere carriers of the royal writs, and for this much less qualified men would generally be chosen

It is interesting to find a parallel to this in the *Rāmāyana*,[7] where also three kinds of envoys are men-

5 VII 63-64

6 *Ar Śās*, I, 16

7 *Yuddha*, 1, 8-10

यो हि भृत्यो नियुक्त सन्भर्त्रा कर्मणि दुष्करे ।

कुर्यात्तदनुरागेण तमाहु. पुरुषोत्तमम् ॥

tioned He who performs even an undesirable and insurmountable task, out of devotion and love, is a purusottama, the best among men Entrusted with a certain mission, he who does not act so as to enlist the love and affection of the king but does it in his own way, is a madhyamanara, the middling person, and that man who, though ordained, does not carry it out in the proper manner, is a puruṣādhama, the lowest among men

Agnipurāna,[8] uses the very words of Kautalya in describing the three classes of envoys These are said to be some general rules communicated to Laksmana by Rāma According to the latter, diplomacy is better than the expedient of war This could be effected by special envoys sent for the purpose, while in the enemy's kingdom the ambassador must speak highly of his king as well as of his enemy and thus ascertain the true force of public opinion in the land An ambassador is thus but an open spy He can assume the role of a merchant, a physician, or some other person to get at the truth A king must take up arms if his embassy should prove unsuccessful, as Yudhisthira did after Krsna's embassy

The *Kāmandakīnīti* has a special section on the qualifications and duties of ambassadors Here also the threefold classification of envoys is retained as in the *Kautalya* and in the *Agnipurāna* The ambassador must survey the strength of the Antapālas and the

यो नियुक्त पर कार्यं न कुर्यान्नृपते प्रियम् ।
भृत्यो युक्त· समर्थश्च तमाहुर्मध्यम नरम् ॥
नियुक्तो नृपते कार्यं न कुर्याद्य समाहित. ।
भृत्यो युक्त समर्थश्च तमाहु पुरुषाधमम् ॥

8 241, 1-14

Atavika princes who lie on the way to the enemy's kingdom He should get a true idea of the extent of the enemy's army, treasury, forts, and weak spots, himself playing the part of a cāra or employing cāras for the purpose He must sleep alone and in a lonely place According to the *Sukranītisāra*[9] an ambassador is one of the ten principal ministers Only one who is capable of reading the signs, demeanour, and behaviour of the adversary, skilled in all arts and sciences, eloquent and devoid of fear on any account, should be appointed to discharge this duty As the king's representative he had to discharge his duties loyally though they be undesirable and even unfruitful.

Bhīsma mentions seven qualifications as essential in an ambassador[10] He should come of a noble line, belong to a high family, be skilful, eloquent of speech, true in delivering the mission, and of excellent memory A king must never sentence or subject an ambassador to capital punishment If he does so, he sinks into oblivion and he is subject to the tortures of the hell together with his retinue of responsible officers It is further said that any officer who kills an ambassador that delivers his message according to the very letter and spirit of his instructions, brings down untold sin not only on himself but even on his deceased ancestors Such was the moral force at the back of this very important institution.

The question now arises what action did the State take in such cases? South Indian epigraphy records the incident of the ambassader of the great Chola monarch, Rājarāja (acc A D 985) who was insulted by a con-

9 II, 72, 87-88

10 *Śānti*, 85, 26-28 *Rāmā* II 100 35 v 41 5-6

federacy of eighteen princes, in retaliation for which Rājarāja invaded Malaināḍu and killed those eighteen princes [11]

The duties of an ambassador, then, were many and varied The lawgiver, Manu,[12] lays down these explicit functions First, on him rests the ultimate declaration of war or peace [13] Secondly, he is to make or break alliances Again he is to sever the friendship of those who are not favourably disposed to his country and to secure alliance with those who are, for all practical purposes, friendly if the conditions and circumstances so demand He is further to ascertain the nature and scope of the enemy's strength, his allies, followers, and his enemies Lastly, he must so play his part in foreign lands as not to imperil his personal security The very same duties are also laid down by Kautalya[14] which go to show that he is a faithful follower of the Dharma-śastras According to Kautalya the envoy should endeavour to secure the friendship of the enemy's officers, study his military strength, forts, arsenals, army, and all his weak as well as favourable points He must make an accurate survey of the whole ground leading to the enemy's kingdom, then and there, marking the best vantage grounds for encampment, for operations, for retreat, and for the storage of provisions Only with previous permission should an ambassador enter the capital city of his enemy He must deliver the message

11 *Ind Ant*, Vol XXII p 142

12 VII, 65 68

13 Cp the action of the Roman ambassador at Tarentum on the eve of the Pyrrhic War

14 *Ar Śās* I 16

exactly as entrusted to him even at the risk of his life, carefully observing at the same time how and in what spirit the enemy receives it

There are other salutary regulations touching the treatment that should be meted out to an envoy He must be respectfully welcomed, and accorded a seat of honour near the throne[15] Enquiries as to the health of the enemy king, the ambassador's master, as well as of his friends should next be made The ambassador's message should be patiently heard and he must be sent back with a suitable reply Above all, the mission must be closed with satisfaction The envoy should not stay longer than necessary in the enemy's country and while there, he must not touch women or liquor and must sleep alone and in a lonely apartment if possible He must further put up with any indignity offered This is not all While staying in the enemy's court, he must mix freely with all classes of people in the realm and thus try to understand the degree of loyalty of the subjects If it is not possible to gather reliable information by open means, then an ambassador may put on various disguises like those of an ascetic, a merchant, a disciple, a physician, a beggar or an insane person and thus try to get correct information regarding the people, the army and the kingdom These are really speaking the functions of a spy

As we have already remarked, the envoy was not permitted to stay a long time Having obtained whatever information he could gather, he must ask for permission to return[15a] If detained against his will, he should try to find out the various possible motives that might have induced the adversary to take that course, whether for

15 See Dr V Raghavan, Kālidāsa's Kuntaleśvara dautva, B C Law, Vol pt 2

15a *Ar Śās* I 16.

collecting an army or inciting a rebellion or making an alliance with others But he might demand, as of right, a speedy departure for himself, and if the circumstances are such that any further stay might imperil his personal safety, then he might even leave the kingdom without permission Another important regulation relating to ambassadors already referred to was that they should not be put to death on any account to whatever caste they belonged From this it is evident that members of all communities were eligible to this office, and that it was not the exclusive monopoly of a particular caste

To conclude, delivering the message entrusted to him, respecting treaties, issuing ultimatums, getting allies, resorting to intrigue when necessary, sowing dissensions among the enemy's friends and associates, carrying away by stealth or otherwise the secret forces, relatives and wealth of the enemy, and doing the work of a spy occasionally—these in brief, were the functions of a well-versed and devoutly loyal ambassador

It would not be out of place here to give a few illustrations from our literature In the *Rāmāyana*[16] Hanumān is sent by Sugrīva at the request of Rāma in search of Sītā In the course of his fruitless wanderings he gets a hint from Sampāti, the king of vultures, of the whereabouts of Sītā Thereupon Hanumān crosses the ocean to Lankā and on the way defeats a few of the formidable Rāksasas apparently appointed by Rāvana to guard the outskirts of his capital Defeating them all and securing permission from every one of them, Hanumān reaches the fortress of Lankā Here again

16 See the last chapters of Kishkindhā and the opening chapters of the Sundara Kānda

he has an encounter with the guardian deity of the city The latter is defeated by his prowess and she willingly grants him permission to enter the citadel Thus we may take it that Hanumān entered the capital of Rāvana with the permission of those who had the power to grant it

There he acted exceedingly well the part of a cāra or spy and got all the information required His mission was, first and foremost, to find out the place where Sītā was confined, and for this purpose he assumed various disguises When he became weary of the search he thought of assuming the guise of a beggar, an insane person or an ascetic Soon afterwards he beheld Sītā sitting under an aśoka tree distressed and vexed, her eyes full of tears Then he appeared before her as a Brahman disciple and introduced himself as a messenger from Rāma,[17] assured her of his safety, and enquired after hers She did not at first believe him Soon he convinced her of his identity, delivered his message, received her message to Rāma, and took leave of her In this case it was not a message to an enemy but to a friend or rather a loving partner

But his message to Rāvana is of historical value Hanumān was no ordinary being He was the chief councillor of King Sugrīva, and versed in all arts and sciences Truly did Jānakī remark[18] that he was endowed with prowess, intelligence and skill of the highest order He had all the qualifications of an ambassador and even more After seeing Sītā, he contemplated visiting Rāvana also, the king of Lankā, in

17 *Sundara* 34 2

18 *Ibid*, 34 7

person as the envoy of his brother sovereign Sugrīva of Kiskindhā, with a view to secure the release of Sītā through open negotiation But it appeared to him well-nigh impossible to get access to him by any fair or friendly means So he began to destroy the favourite flower and fruit gardens of Rāvana with the result that the brave Rāksasas who came to attack him were all slain After this, royal princes were sent against him, and it was Indrajit who ultimately succeeded in vanquishing him and carrying him as a captive before his father, the king of the Rāksasas But Hanumān was not in the least daunted He delivered the message boldly and fearlessly even at the risk of his life He represented himself as the envoy of Sugrīva But Rāvana turned red with anger and ordered his execution, whereat Vibhīsana rose and explained the *rājadharma* regarding the treatment to be accorded to envoys in general First of all, an envoy should not be punished with death at all [19] That is against all international morality Such a course would be censured by the world at large. But when questioned about the forms of punishment to be inflicted on guilty or obnoxious envoys, Vibhīsana mentioned mutilation of certain limbs, beating and other forms of chastisement Thereupon Rāvana ordered Hanumān's tail to be burnt But Hanumān with undaunted courage set the whole city on fire with his lighted tail Once again taking leave of Jānakī, but without the permission of the Lord of Lankā, lest it should imperil his life, he returned to the other side of the sea and rejoined his brother-monkey's and filled their ears with the glad tidings During his stay in Lankā, Hanumān

19 *Ibid*, 52, 6-7, 13 VI 2016-18

took full stock of the situation, surveyed the citadel in all its aspects, and was convinced that the four expedients of sāma, dāna, bheda, and danda would be of no avail against the great and mighty Rāvaneśvara He acquainted himself with the strength of his army, of his friends and enemies, of the forts and fortresses, and other vantage grounds for camps and battlefields, if such should be necessary in the future Burning the city, taking cognisance of the future events and leaving the place without any formal permission, all these go to show that he had even issued an ultimatum for war

The practice of sending ambassadors to declare war is seen in the *Visnupurāna*[20] where Vāsudeva, the king of Pundra, claimed a divine status for himself and sent an ambassador to Krsna, the king of Dvārakā The message delivered was 'Leave off your cakra, Oh foolish person, and come and accord me your homage and I shall forgive you and grant you means of subsistence' The Lord laughed and sent a fitting reply 'I shall even to-morrow go with my cakra and yield it to you' Mounting Garuda, Krsna set out against Pundraka, and the king of Pundra, helped by the ruler of Kāśi, came to meet him

Again, in the *Mārkandeya Purāna*,[21] when Alarka, the fourth son of Madālasā, was reigning, his elder brother Subāhu wished to usurp the throne So he sought Kāśirāja's help and sent an ultimatum through an envoy It was 'Submit or fight' As befitted a Ksatriya, Alarka offered battle and being defeated fled for life That this was also a Tamil custom is seen from the fact that just on the eve of his expedition to the

20 V 34
21 Ch 37

Ganges, Ceran Senguttuvan asked his minister to send envoys to the northern kings to the effect that unless they were prepared to recognise his suzerainty, he would meet them in open battle[22]

Another instance of this rôle of a messenger is found in the *Mārkandeya Purāna*,[23] where Śumbha and Niśumbha, the two great Asuras, completely defeated the gods Though a legend, it gives us an idea prevalent in ancient times There was only the goddess Durgā left unconquered So Śumbha sent a messenger, Sugrīva by name, to the goddess with the message "I want you here quickly So do come without delay" The envoy reached her abode among the mountains and delivered the message as instructed The Devī calmly received it and sent the reply that he who could conquer her in battle would be her husband, and hence Śumbha was welcome to fight with her Enraged at the message, Śumbha sent able generals to drag her by the hair to his abode They were all completely destroyed when Durgā sent the celestial messenger Śiva with the ultimatum for war Thereupon Śumbha marched with his legions armed with 86 different weapons and eighty-four different clubs, all of whom she destroyed utterly

Yet another instance is that after arriving on the shores of Lankā,[24] Rāma sent Angada as an envoy to Rāvana with the message· "Give up Sītā or fight" Rāvana replied that he would fight Then Rāma with all his monkey forces marched towards the citadel

To cite another instance Drupada sent his Purohita a well-versed Brahmana, as an ambassador to the court

22 *Śilap* ch 26
23 Ch 85, 87
24 *Agni P*, Ch 10

of Dhrtarāstra on the eve of the struggle to avert war on behalf of the Pāndavas.[25] Having arrived at Hastināpura, he was accorded a hearty welcome by Dhrtarāstra, Bhīsma and Vidura Enquiries about the health of the king and the chief officers of the state were then made Then he delivered his message, which was patiently heard Bhīsma replied that Duryodhana was not willing to yield even one inch of territory but was prepared to lose the whole empire in battle if it should so chance Then he went back After this Sañjaya was commissioned by Dhrtarāstra to go to the Pāndavas, enquire after their health, and say whatever he thought fit on the occasion Sañjaya spoke of the horrors and sins of war and desired Yudhisthira to make peace As an ambassador he gave out his message as was instructed Krsna answered that peace was good, but war was the duty of the Ksatriyas For the purpose of slaying robbers, Indra had created the bow, the weapon, and also the armour Dhrtarāstra with his sons had robbed the sons of Pāndu of their just and lawful inheritance, and hence as robbers they must be dealt with So let the Kurus be told that the Pāndavas, though ready to fight, are still in peace'

Having effected a rather speedy settlement and permitted by Yudhisthira Sañjaya, the pure-souled and of humane and virtuous speech, returned with the message to Duryodhana[26] 'Cede Indraprastha or give battle' Then with Dhrtarāstra's permission he entered the palace and unfolded all that had taken place Questioned as to the vulnerable and non-vulnerable

25 *Udyoga*, 6, 20-21
26 *Ibid*, 30 3-6, 49

points of the Pāndava army, Sañjaya spoke of their superiority in possessing Krsna on their side with his disc and his power of producing illusion [27]

Yet another striking illustration is also found in the *Mahābhārata* Instructed by Yudhisthira, Bhīma and Arjuna and Nakula to act in such a way that there might be peace with the enemy and to do such other things as he considered proper and even fruitful to the Kurus, Krsna set out as an ambassador But Sahadēva and Sātyaki preferred war, for nothing but killing Duryodhana would bring them peace of mind Draupadī sounded the same note Then Krsna started for Indraprastha and in the meantime Duryodhana proposed to make him captive while there This course Dhrtarāstra opposed, saying that he was an ambassador and therefore it was improper to make him captive Krsna arrived and was duly honoured He spoke the words of a friend wishing for peace The terms of the message amounted to asking the Kurus to give up half the kingdom or, if that was not possible, to cede five villages, or to fight in the last resort Duryodhana would not agree in spite of good advice from his elders, and offered only war Taking leave of all of them Krsna speedily returned to Upaplāvya where the Pāndavas heard him and prepared for the battle

A reference to the early Tamil Šangam works shows that ambassadors played a significant part also in the Tamil land. The earliest work extant, the *Tolkāppiyam*,[28] refers to the dūtas, and, what is more interesting, the sūtra implies that Brahmanas were generally sent on

27 *Ibid.*, 32, 67-68

28 *Porul*, 25.

this errand The *Kural* has a chapter on the qualifications and functions of an ambassador [29] He is a true ambassador who has a commanding personality and pleasing manners, comes of a noble family and is faithful, wise, versed in legal and political literature, and persuasive in speech He should be unimpeachable in character and rise above all temptations He should speak out unmindful even of personal safety A study of the *Śilappadikāram* shows that king Śenguttuvan had a big establishment of dūtas, the chief of whom were Sañjaya and Nīla [30]

Epigraphic testimony Inscription No 30 of King Vīrarājēndra Chola bears ample and eloquent testimony to this practice in vogue among the South Indian kings in medeival times King Vīrarājendra despatched a letter to the Chalukya king through a messenger with an ultimatum for war Probably this messenger came in the third category of Kautalya's and *Agnipurāna's* classification of envoys The letter had this preamble 'He who does not come to the appointed Kūdal through fear, shall be no king but a liar and a disgrace in war' This was delivered to the messenger who carried it and handed to the Chālukya king The Chālukya king resented the action of the Chola Though the latter set out for the battle-field, the Chālukya did not turn up even a month after the appointed time but fled in fear Kulottunga I's embassy to the Kalinga King and the ambassadors sent by Krsnadevaraya to the Court of the Sultans of Bijapur before the battle of Raichur (1519) are instances in point

29 Ch 69

30 Ch 26

Thus there is both literary and inscriptional evidence to show what a useful part was played by the ambassador in ancient Indian diplomacy and warfare

SECTION II

ESPIONAGE IN WAR

Modern international law has classified diplomatic agents under different heads, and has accepted the principle of stationing permanent ambassadors in foreign states Though ancient India had developed a theory of international law and ethics, its ambassadors were not permanent agents in foreign courts They were sent on a special mission and were expected to return after having carried out their mission In fact, it was prescribed, as we have seen, that the ambassador should not be allowed to stay long in those courts Important as the ambassadorial system was, espionage was even more valued Looked at from the point of view of diplomacy, the institution of spies had a greater utility, as the king could take action on the report of the spies At the outset it may be remarked that spies were engaged to look after the home officials, including those of the royal household as well as to report on the doings in the enemy kingdoms It is with the latter class of spies who were sent to foreign countries to gather information about the movements of the enemy and his army, that we are at present concerned

To recall what we have already said, spies are mentioned in the *Rg Veda Samhitā* It is said that Varuna had a number of spies,[31] as well as Agni [32] These

31 I 24 13

32 IV 4 3, *AV* VI 4 3

spies looked out far and wide They went about in different directions They were true to their duties, and were never confused in carrying out their tasks [33] Their policy was clearly defined Only men of wisdom and purity were sent on this errand,[34] thus suggesting that they should be persons above corruption and temptation of any sort

Such details may indicate the high development of the science of diplomacy in ancient India As was noticed in the last section, the term *prahita* stands for the spy in the *Taittirīya Samhitā,* if we are to interpret it in the light of the commentary of Sāyana [35] But when we come to the epoch of the composition of the *Atharva Veda,* we have additional details of these officials in secret service Here again,[36] we meet with the spies attached to the exalted office of Varuna They were said to possess a thousand eyes, implying, of course, that they were ever vigilant and watchful It is further mentioned that they looked down on the earth from the sky, meaning that no direction was left uninspected by them. They moved here and there, and this was, we may suppose, for gathering correct information and reporting it to their master All important gods had their own spies For instance, spies were attached to Mitra [37]

In the epics, again, there is a fund of information about these officials In the *Mahābhārata*[38] it is said that they frequented all places and sent up regular reports When the Pāndavas were living in the country

33 VI 67 5, VIII 87.3 34 VII 67 3
35 IV 7 1 36 IV 16 4
37 *A V* VIII 61 3 Soma too had spies *Ibid* IX 73 4 See Macdonell *Vedic Mythology,* pp 23-24
38 *Śānti*, 69 8-12, 86 20 21

of King Virata, Duryodhana sent able spies in search of them Dusśāsana offered advance pay to these secret emissaries [39] An illustration may also be cited from the *Rāmayana* [40] Rāvaṇa sent two of his ministers Śuka and Sarana to report from time to time on the strength and the movements of Rāma's forces (*Parijñatum balam sarvam*) They entered the Vānara host in the disguise of monkeys Soon they were found out and Rāma sent an ultimatum through them to their master According to the great epic, men able to disguise themselves as idiots, and blind and deaf men, were appointed as spies They should have been previously engaged in other services and their conduct testified to Able to endure fatigue and thirst, they should be men of intelligence, and he was a wise king who employed these spies in such a way that they might not recognise one another The king should also endeavour to get at the knowledge of foreign spies frequenting his kingdom in its parks, learned assemblies, courts, places of amusement, etc [41] Elsewhere it is said[42] that having spies for his eyes, the king should learn all the acts and intentions of his foes, friends and neutrals [43]

The king must not take action on the report submitted by a single spy If the information received from three different sources, independent of one another, is found to tally, then action could be taken This ruling of the *Rāmāyana*[44] is followed by the *Arthaśāstra*,[45] and

39 *Virāta*, chs 25 and 26
40 *Yuddha*, ch 25 (whole)
41 *Virāta*, 8, 13
42 *Ādi*, ch 142, 75-77, *Kāma*, 13 31
43 LXXXVI 20 21, *Udyoga*, 33 34
44 *Ayodhyā*, 100, 36
45 Bk I, ch 11

further supported by the prescription of the *Kural*.[46] It bears testimony to the care and attention paid to the strategic policy in the ancient Indian State.

It is only when we come to the period of the Kautalīya that we find a regular secret service department became a permanent feature. Mention of a similar institution is met with in the works of Bhāsa, who is now said to have lived in the fifth century B.C. According to this dramatist, these spies were the king's eyes,[47] who watched the movements of enemies and those of the king's subjects and aliens. They themselves moved about in the guise of madmen, mendicants, etc. Vatsarāja was freed from the captivity through the secret service.[48]

In the *Arthaśāstra* there are four important chapters on this institution.[49] Spies in the guise of a fraudulent disciple, a recluse, a householder, a merchant, an ascetic, a *sattri*, a firebrand, a poisoner, and a mendicant woman were employed by the king. Being encouraged with honour and presents of money, they were asked to swear their loyalty to the king and his council, for it was the minister that set them on their mission. Intelligent cultivators fallen from their condition were employed as house-holder spies, and traders fallen from their professions as merchant spies. The *sattris* were orphans maintained by the State, while the firebrands were those who confronted wild animals in fight to earn their livelihood. Brahman widows were

46 Ch. 59.

47 *A V* I 12.

48 See the *Journal of the Bombay University* II pt. vi, p. 196.

49 Bk. I, ch. 11, See translation. See also Somadeva Sūri Yaśastilaka Campu pp. 399-400.

generally the *parivrājaka* spies, though women of other castes were enlisted in this service Thus Kauṭalya distinguishes five institutes of espionage[50] (samsthās), the members of which were sent over the country by the king to ascertain the purity of his own officials and also of the enemy

These different spies were attached to one of the five institutes, and they sent information by making use of signs or writing (samjñā lipi) to the officers stationed in their respective institutes Intelligence was also conveyed through cipher writing (gūdhalekhya) [51] Some spies were sent to foreign kingdoms to secure employment, and these were paid from the Home Department so that they would secretly furnish first hand information regarding the enemy These officials therefore went by the name of *ubhayavetanas* One other business of these spies was also to discover the spies set by foreign kings Spies under the guise of astrologers and readers of omens and auguries were set in motion to ascertain the relationship of the local people with foreign kings By this means the

50 It is interesting here to compare similar institutions in ancient China L Giles has translated the Sun Tzu or the Art of War from the Chinese and this is very valuable to students of Chinese history Here also five classes of spies are distinguished These are local spies, inward spies converted spies doomed spies and surviving spies Local spies are those recruited from the local District The officials of the enemy were used as inward spies The enemy's spies who were won over to the conqueror's side were converted spies Doomed spies were those who gave false report to the enemy about his own state in order to deceive the latter Surviving spies were those who got news from the enemy's camp The functions and qualifications mentioned are quite in agreement with the *Kauṭalīya* (pp 164 ff), (London, 1910)

51 *Ar Śās*, Bk I 16

king was asked to protect himself against the intrigues of foreign chiefs

The *Kural* devotes two interesting chapters to the institution of spies [52] These are entitled Terindu telital தெரிந்து தெளிதல and Terindu vinaiyādal தெரிந்து வினையாடல The injunctions follow in the main those formulated by the *Arthaśāstra*, thus showing its indebtedness to the *Kautalīya* The venbā 501 follows *verbatim* the *Arthaśāstra* when it says

अमात्यान् उपधाभि शोधयेत् । धर्मोपधा, अर्थोपधा, कामोपधा, भयोपधा ।

The *Kural venbā* runs as follows 'Having put one to the fourfold test, dharma, wealth, pleasure and fear, a selection must be made' The same idea is contained in another *Kural venbā* 510 This means that before the actual appointments were made, each officer was put to four kinds of rigid tests, i e, temptations of virtue, wealth, lust and fear The *Arthaśāstra* says Those who had come out successful from the *dharmopadhā* were appointed as judges and commissioners, from the *arthopadhā* as treasurers and collectors-general, from the *kāmopadhā* as guardians of frontiers, of the harem and amusement parks, from the *bhayopadhā* as officers of the royal household Those who had satisfied all the four tests were chosen as ministers If one reads these recommendations with the *Kural venbās* 518 and 520, one is astonished at their striking similarity [53] According to the *Kural*, again, the two eyes of the king are the

52 LI and LII

53 See Dikshitar *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, pp 153-160, C S Srinivasachari: *The Political Ideas of the Kural*, (*I H Q*, 1927)

spies and a knowledge of the *Dharmaśāstras*[54] These confirm our conclusion that Tiruvalluvar was a follower of the Kautalīya school and based his political theories on the Arthaśāstra texts, especially the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautalya

In a later book Kautalya furnishes more details regarding their functions

1 Spies attending upon the prince kept as a hostage might break the agreement of peace[55]

2 They might bring about the death of a fortified enemy by means of weapons, poison or other things This was generally done by firebrand (tīksna) spies[56] It was resorted to in the case of obstinate enemies and enemies of a mean character[57]

3 They helped in sowing seeds of dissension Spies in different disguises, particularly of astrologers and sooth-sayers, gave publicity to their king's association with gods and his miraculous powers They must further convert the people of the enemy by speaking highly of their king's righteous rule and parental care towards every one of his subjects They bribed otherwise unconvinced persons by supply of money and grain, and created a split between the enemy king and his subjects[58]

4 They were again employed to sow dissension among a corporation of petty kings and warriors Spies found out, by access to these kinds, the jealousy, hatred,

54 Ch 59

55 Bk VII, ch 17

56 Cf *Rājataranginī* VIII, 2200 If caught spies were blinded

57 Bk IX, vi

58 Bk XIII ch 1

and other misunderstandings existing between them and any planned dissensions saying, 'This chief desired you.'[59]

5 Spies again might lure an enemy, in the guise of ascetics of miraculous powers or by disguising themselves as fire-god and Nāga gods Reports were taken to the enemy king about them, and persuading him to visit the place he might be slain [60]

6 They carried on other intrigues by deluding the enemy king within the sight of a beautiful elephant if he was fond of elephants, with lovely women if he was fond of women, with a hidden treasure if he was fond of wealth, and by striking him down on such occasions [61]

7 In the course of siege operations, spies disguised as hunters stood at the gate of a besieged fortress and pretended to sell meat, thus making friends with the sentinels stationed at the gate Winning their confidence and diverting their attention, they caused the gates to be opened, and when that was done, the spies struck the enemy with the help of men secretly kept ready [62]

8 In the case of a powerful enemy, spies in the service of the enemy from the conqueror's kingdom may seduce the wild tribes, with prospects of plunder and power, to devastate the enemy's country Or they may create a division between the king and the commanders of the army, and bring about the death of the commander-in-chief [63]

9 The conqueror's spies residing as traders in the enemy's forts and as householder-spies might bring about

59 Bk XI, ch 1
60 Bk XIII, 2
61 For details see Ar *Śās* Bk XIII, 2
62 Bk XIII, 3
63 Bk XII, ch 3

the destruction of the enemy's source of supply, stores and granaries [64]

10 Lastly, they encouraged their army and frightened the enemy ranks This was often done by soothsayers and astrologers who were, to all intents and purposes, spies of the conqueror They described heaven as their goal and hell as the goal of the enemy

It is further prescribed that in meeting his spies, the king should be well armed, as he should meet them only at night Dishonest and misbehaving spies were subject to punishment But true and honest officials were protected during the period of their active service In this way Kautalya speaks of a number of spies in different disguises and professions who were entrusted with onerous responsibilities and obligations and on whose work rested the weal or woe of the conqueror's kingdom The description shows an elaborate network of the spy system

In the post-Kautalīyan period the old institution worked regularly In the *Mudrārākṣasa* there is mention of an elaborate system of espionage [65] In Kālidāsa's works we meet with the cāra in several places The Parivrājaka in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* shows the existence of female spies, as was noticed in the Kautalīya In the Purānas[66] where polity is dealt with, and also in law-books like those of Bṛhaspati,[67] Manu[68]

64 *Ibid*, ch 4

65 See, for instance, Act II

66 *Matsya P*, ch 222 The spy chosen must be a linguist according to this Purāna *Padma* III, 216-29

67 I 46-8 68 VII 154 IX 256, 261 and 298

and Visnu,[69] there are similar details with regard to the qualifications of these spies

The same picture presents itself in the Tamil classics We have already drawn attention to the chapters in the *Tirukkural* dealing with this subject In the *Tolkāppiyam* (ascribed to about the fourth century B C) it is noticed that spies of different descriptions went about the enemy's camp and country to gather information in regard to the movements of the king and his army and faithfully report them to their headquarters[70] Before the preliminaries of war were settled, it was the custom to send ambassadors to the enemy It was said that when Śenguttuvan prepared himself for his northern expedition, the many spies of his enemies wandering in the State were sure to take the information much more quickly and promptly than his ambassadors[71] This shows that as in north Indian administration, so also in south India the institution of spies formed an inseparable feature

Thus both the ambassador and the spy were the diplomatic agents who were responsible for 'information' in war, which denotes, according to Clausewitz, the knowledge of the enemy and his country The spy was distinguished from the dūta The spy could be roughly handled if found out When Rāvana's spies were discovered by the monkey hosts, they were dragged before their leader Rāma violently and assaulted[72] On a certain occasion when a dūta came, Rama would not

69 III 35

70 *Porul*, 58

71 *Śilap*, XXV 11 173-6

72 Burns *op cit*, ch iv

allow him to be molested [73] Thus the ancient Indian diplomacy was a curious mixture of idealism and realism, and was governed by sound principles of international morality In theory secret diplomacy was denounced, but it was still put into practice

CONCLUSION

To-day there is a genuine attempt to abolish war and eliminate force altogether from world politics Some believe honestly that the remedy lies in socialism and the ushering in of a World State To achieve this ideal State is by no means possible, as things stand to-day It cannot be disputed for a moment that the human mind is as yet swinging like a pendulum between nationalism and internationalism Though aggressive nationalism in the sense of dominance of one nation at the expense of others is condemned in theory, yet it dominates world politics It is suicidal to condemn nationalism as a whole, for nationalism helps to preserve the integrity of diverse human cultures in the world and thus enrich human life Economic internationalism, or in other words economic interdependence of States, may lessen the vogue of war but it will not obviate it completely

One of our modern thinkers speaking of European countries, writes that ‘ most traditional history is merely fairy tale ’ where the actual battles are misrepresented, where the methods of slaughter are called the ‘ art of war,’ where the successful general or admiral fills a great place, and where war is made to seem chiefly an

73 VI 25 27-28

instrument of progress and where peace is treated as if it were only the outcome of victory The same writer continues 'War is the favourite subject of historians Most teachers and writers of history even to-day, perpetrate in schools and universities the old obsession with war' There is some truth in the observation But every historian must protest against the statement that most traditional history is fairy tale To wholly discredit the writings of earlier historians is to ignore altogether one of the chief sources of history Besides, it will be no history if the subject of war is not treated in it We are told that war as a subject of history would be excusable if the truth were told about it It is the general belief that historians do tell the truth and truth only, unlike writers of historical novels, historical dramas, and similar literature War is not the only subject of history Bad history deserves condemnation, but history written with the sole object of propaganda for peace, suppressing statements of facts, deserves equal condemnation The historian is as much actuated by the desire for peace as the politician Abolition of war is a snare and a delusion It is beyond the pale of practical politics War is a law of human existence It cannot be eradicated, but it may be ennobled Let us therefore prefer conciliation to coercion, and aim more at peace and less at war Let us aim at the annihilation of international anarchy, and the substitution of world peace Let us resolve on the renunciation of war and make the ties of peace too strong to break Let us think and act not in terms of nationalism but in terms of internationalism

APPENDIX I

MANUSCRIPTS

Daivajña Vilāsa (Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras)

According to the colophon at the end of the book, this work consists of 108 ullāsas, 32,000 granthas, and the author is one Kancham Yellaiya, son of Naraya and Viramma There is a section in this manuscript entitled Rājacaritra khanda, forming the 106th and 107th ullāsas Like so many books which were written in medieval times, most of the portions are a compilation of opinions and texts from ancient and reputed authors like Vasistha, Brhaspati and Yājñavalkya Ullāsa 160 is devoted to the different kinds of abhiseka or anointing ceremony of the king In ullāsa 107 there is mention of a number of śastras and bānas, as also the sevenfold upāyas, like sāma, and dāna It also contains a short notice of the characteristics of horses and elephants, and how to ride them The rest of the ullāsa deals with the administration of justice The author of this manuscript must have flourished in the 15th century A D

Hariharacaturangam (Oriental Mss Library, Madras).

It is the work of Kuruvājapeyayāji Godāvaramiśra, the minister of Mahārājādhirāja Gajapati Pratāparudradēva Thus the work belongs to the 15th century A D (or the early 16th) Its study is valuable in that it indicates the continuity of traditional methods and prescriptions, and in this connexion furnishes additional information from sources known to the author at the

time of composition This manuscript of the Harihara-caturanga is divided into eight books The first four deal with the fourfold force in the order of elephants, chariots, horses and infantry While these sections on elephants and horses occupy nearly 90 pages respectively, the information under the headings of chariots and infantry is meagre and occupies about four pages in the manuscript The last four books deal respectively with dhanurveda, rājanīti, dhanurvidyā and krīdāyuddha (This last is a period of training or apprenticeship after the period of study is over) In the opening lines of Book V the author expresses his indebtedness to previous works on the Dhanurveda and in this connexion mentions four works—the Auśanasa Samhitā, Vīracintāmani, Kodandacaturbhujam and Sārasangraham, all of which are probably lost to-day Towards the end of the sixth book, another work, called *Jayacintāmani* is referred to It is said to be a work bearing on astronomy and astrology, and the king is advised therein to set out on an expedition at an auspicious time

Vīramitrodaya Laksanaprakāśa is by Mitramiśra, son and grandson respectively of Paraśurāma Miśra and Hamsapandita It was composed at the instance of king Vīrasimha the son of Madhukarasāha and the grandson of king Pratāparudra (The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1916) It is a compilation of material from different literary works which were authoritative during the 16th century, when the author flourished In dealing with weapons of war and the threefold forces of elephants horses and infantry, it has drawn rich and valuable material from the following works, some of which are now not traceable, others have been printed,

and some are still in manuscript The MSS referred to and still available are —

1 Rājavijaya (Jammu and Kashmir Library)

2 Siddhāntaśekhara by Śrīpati

3 Traiyambaka Dhanurvēda (also named Īśāna samhitā), said to be available in Orissa

4 Vīracintāmani Dhanurvēda (noticed in Rājendralal Mitra's catalogue)

5 Parāśāra Samhitā, available in the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras

6 Śālihotram (also named Aśvaśāstra), available in the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras

7 Gana Aśvāyurveda Do

The following are the manuscripts not traceable and probably lost —

1 Auśanasa Dhanurvēda as narrated by Śukra to Jamadagni

2 Kalhana's Aśvasārasamuccaya which refers to Śālihotram

3 Bhoja's Lohārnava

4 Khadga Kōśa

5 Loharatnākara

6 Brhaspati Samhitā

7 Hastihrdayaprabandha

8 Vaidyaka tantra

The following are published —

1 Visnusmrti

2 Varāhasamhitā (the same as Varāhamihira's Brhatsamhitā

3 Pālakāpya (printed as Hastyāyurvēda), (Poona)

4 Jayadeva (datta) Aśvāyurveda (printed in 1886 —Asiatic Society of Bengal as Aśvavaidyaka)
5 Nakula, Aśvaśāstra, Do
6 Nakula, Aśvaśiksita, Do
7 Visnudharmottara Purāna, (Bombay)

APPENDIX II

FLAGS IN ANCIENT INDIA

The origin and use of flags can be traced to the earliest Indian literature, the Rg Veda Samhitā The term *dhvaja* occurs twice in this Veda [1] Besides *dhvaja*, we meet with a good number of expressions for a banner in Vedic literature These are Akra,[2] Krtadhvaja,[3] Ketu,[4] Brhatketu,[5] Sahasraketu [6] It appears that the Vedic host aimed their arrows at the banners of the enemy The idea was that once the banner was captured, or struck, a claim was made for success in the battle over the enemy Ketu was a pennon small flag as contrasted with Brhatketu or the big flag Sahasraketu may be a thousand flags or it may be interpreted as a knight who had brought under control a thousand flags of enemies Ketu by itself may also mean a hero or a chief We are told that banners and drums were counted among the insignia of ancient Vedic kings This tradition is seen in the Atharva Veda which has an unmistakable reference to a flag with the device of the Sūrya (the Sun God)

The coupling of drums with banners is indeed significant The drum represents music It may be the

1 VII 85 2 X 103 11 (*Vedic Index*, I, p 406)
2 I 143 7 3 1 12
3 7 8 3 2
4 I 27 12
5 V 8 2
6 I 119 1

music of the festival and festivities, or it may be war music For the drum was used in those days for both purposes So one has to infer that banners were used not only for military purposes but also as decoration on festive occasions We are concerned here with the military use of the flag It was at once a symbol and an emblem It was not peculiar to the Indian nation Every ancient nation, e g the Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek and Roman, had its own standards in different colours and devices Every modern nation possesses its own flag Britain is proud of her Union Jack and is prepared to stake its all for keeping it unimpaired throughout the British Empire Turning to ancient India we find that there was no common flag in the sense in which we understand to-day the term 'national' 'There were a number of flags and the number depended upon the number of heroes or leaders in war Every leader had his own insignia to distinguish one division from the other This device avoided confusion in the ranks of both during the march of an army and in action in the battle-field '[7] This is much in evidence in the epic *Mahābhārata* In the battle-field of Kurukṣetra, one could see a number of flags The following are some of the flags which distinguished the Pāndava and the Kaurava heroes in that historic battle-field The expressions standing for flags and banners in the epics were dhavaja, ketu and patākā [8] In the Drona Parvan of the *Mahābhārata,* to a question put by Dhrtarāstra, Sañjava reports about the various flags and banners employed by the Kurus and the Pāndavas One full chapter (105)

7 E W Hopkins *JAOS*, 13, pp 243 ff

8 *Mhb*, I 63 17 *Rāma* II 67 26

is devoted to it Let us analyse it under the following heads —

The name of the hero	*The Flag*
Arjuna	The Kapidhvaja or the flag with the figure of Hanumān (monkey) with monkey's face and a long tail, creating terror in the rank and file of the enemy (Cf Ch 85 4)
Aśvatthāman ...	Simhalāngūlam or the flag with the figure of the tail of a lion, radiating, golden in colour, and affording delight to the Kurus
Karna	Hastikaksaya—golden, and adorned with festoons and garlands flying aloft in the air
Krpa	Gōvrsa—a representation of the bull This is the device also of Śiva
Vrsasēna	Mayūra—the device of a peacock. This is also the emblem of god Subrahmanya
Śalya, king of Madras	Sītādhvaja, auspicious and radiant
Jayadratha or Sindhurāja	Varāha or the boar emblem, white in colour In the chariot adorned with this silvery flag, Jayadratha shone like Pūsan of old in the Devāsura wars
Bhūriśravas, the son of Somadatta	The Yūpa flag—shone like the sun with the moon therein It looked just like the yūpa in the Rājasūya sacrifice.

The name of the hero	*The Flag*
Śala	The elephant standard white in colour—resplendent just like the flag of Indra, the king of gods
Duryodhana	The serpent (Nāga) flag set with gold and gems
Bhīsma	Tāladhvaja Cognisance of a palmyra tree.

Other references to flags of equally great heroes who took part in the Great War are found here and there

Ghatotkaca	Cakradhvaja or the device of a chariot wheel (Drona P ch 23 76) Later on the emblem of eagle is said to have been his standard (*Ibid.* 91).
Droṇācārya	His was a representation of Kamandalu covered by deer-skin (*Ibid* 83)
Bhīmasena	Simhadhvaja or the lion standard The eyes were set with diamonds (*Ibid* 84)
Yudhisthira	The Sōma device—the moon resplendent with all stars and planets (*Ibid* 85)
Nakula	Śarabhadhvaja—its back being gold but terrific in appearance (*Ibid* 87)
Sahadeva	The Hamsa or swan emblem with bells and festoons terrifying the enemy (*Ibid* 88)
Abhimanyu	Śārngapaksī dhvaja — golden in colour (*Ibid* 90)

The name of the hero.	*The Flag*
The Paurava king	Cognisance of a horn
The Kalinga king	Cognisance of Agni or fire

It is said that in vanquishing Nīla, Aśvatthāma cut off the bow, *dhvaja* and umbrella of the enemy by the three sharp *balla* instruments (Drona P ch 31 23). This shows that even in the epic period pulling down the flags in battle amounted to defeating the foe

In the *Rāmāyana* we hear of the standard of Bharata containing the emblem of a Kovidāra tree Even gods had their own streamers flying Animals figure largely as emblems of these gods Śiva's flag had the device of a bull,[9] Viṣṇu's the device of Garuda or an eagle,[10] Indra's the emblem of the sword, Kāma's the device of fish (Makaradhvaja)

Reference to flags of different kinds is found in the *Kalpataru*, Hemachandra's work, *Kriyāsāra, Pratisthāsāra sangraha, Sūta Samhitā, Yuktikalpataru* and other works [11]

That every *vyūha* of the Mauryan army was distinguished by the device of *dhvajas* and *patākās,* besides the special musical instruments like *tūrya* is evident from the Arthaśāstra of Kautalya It is said that these different divisions had their respective flags and banners whether they were in camp, in march or in

9 *Br Purāna,* III 3 79

10 *Garudadhvaja*

11 See in this connexion an article on 'Flags in Ancient India' by H A Talcherkar, *Modern Review,* August 1924

active warfare[12] It is not possible to show whether *dhvajas* and *patākās* connoted the same meaning of flags and banners or they stood for different varieties of standards The fact that Kautalya uses the two terms together raises a doubt that *dhvaja* was different from a *patākā* *Patākās* were possibly festoons which were a feature and adornment of an army and those were hanging in rows between two points of the army The *patākās* were such an essential feature of the army in later times that the army came to be designated as *Patākinī* by writers like Kālidāsa[13] Later on in suggesting remedies against the injuries of one's own army,[14] Kautalya again refers to the trumpets, *dhvaja* and *patāka,* and suggests the preparation of a certain medicinal mixture which, when besmeared over these flags and banners, would tend to remove the poison at the very look, if their poisoning were in any way suspected. The *dhvaja* was evidently a flag attached to a pole on the war chariot[15] It was so much valued that the army became designated in the *Mahābhārata, dhvajanī* and in Tamil *kodiccenai*[16]

12 Bk II, ch 33

The same idea is repeated in a later chapter dealing with vyūhas in general (Bk X, ch 6) Each vyūha had its own tūrya ghoṣa and ensigns

13 *Raghu* IV, 82

14 Bk 14, ch 4

15 Kodittер of Tamil literature occurs twice in *Silappadikāram* (XXII 109, XXVII 152)

16 *Silap* XXVI 152 comm Again in the *Perumkadai* the term Kodippadai occurs twice on pp 139 and 369 (Swaminatha Aiyer ed (1924) Here the term stands for the vanguard of the army as distinguished from the rear-guard which goes by the name Kūlai (கூழை)

It is interesting that different designs of flags and banners have been wonderfully carved in wood and stone and are carefully preserved at Sānchi, Bhuvaneśvara and Ajanta caves A look at the wood cuts Nos 164 and 165 of Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes (p 215) will demonstrate a beautiful carving of a flag as an oblong piece of cloth with or without diagonal stripes A number of flag staffs are also seen The use of flags meant also the use of the staffs on whose top the flag was generally let flown The staffs were made of different wood, with a bias in favour of bamboo

The use of flags and banners was not a peculiar feature of the North Indians The early Tamil kings of South India had their own standards The emblem of their crests served as the sign of their banners We hear of *kayal* (fish), *śilai* (bow) and *puli* (tiger) flag[17] In the Śinnamanur plates of Rājasimha Pāndya, the Pāndyan is designated as *mīnadhvaja* The expression *Pulikkodiyon* (he who possesses the tiger flag) occurs again in the *Perumtogai* (1200) Besides the streamers attached to the chariots, the flags were also carried on elephants in Tamil warfare Reference is made to this in several places in Tamil literary works, especially the Puranānūru (st 9 and 38) Lofty standards of varied colours were placed on young war elephants which constituted an army It is said that the white coloured

17 அடுதிற லொருவநிற பரவுது மெஙகோன
றொடுகழ கொடுமபூட பகடடெழின மாாபிற
கயலொடு கலநத சிலையுடைக கொடுவரிப
புயலுறழ தடககைப போரவே லசசுதன
தொனறுமுதிா கடலுலக முழுதுடன
ஒனறுபு திகிரி யுருட்டுவோ னெனவே

M Raghava Aiyangar, *Perumtogai*, 15

flag was a sign of victory[18] That the flag signified victory in war is also seen in other works like the Maduraikkāñji,[19] and Malaipadukadām[20] Thus it was the South Indian practice to use the same emblem for both their seals and standards That this was followed by later kings of South Indian dynasties can be seen from the Pallavas, Chālukyas and Vijayanagar monarchs The Pallavas had the Vrsabhadhvaja or the Bull Standard Boar flags were used both by the Chālukyas and the Vijayanagar kings

Barring some of the seals which have the lion emblem, the Pallava cognisance was the bull, as testified to us by epigraphy and literature In the inscriptions the Pallava king Rājasimha has the significant attributes Śrī Vrsabhadarpa and Rsabha lāñchana Parameśvaravarman I is styled as Vrsāñka and Nandivarman Śākavaraketana Of all the evidences the last is important for our purpose Śākavaraketana is one who shines by his bull standard This proves that the device for the seal and the flag was common also to the Pallava

18. விசய வெண கொடி — *Puram* 362 l 5
விசயம வெலகொடி யுயரி — *Mullai*, 91
வானறோய வெலகொடி — *Padirru*, 69 l 1

19 வேறுபல பெயர வாரெயில கொளககொள
நாடோ றெடுதத நலமபெறு புனைகொடி
நீரொலிததனன நிலவுவேற றுனையொடு
புலவுபபடக கொனறு மிடைதோ லோடடிய
புகழசெய தெடுதத விறலசா னனகொடி
களளின களிநவில கொடியொடு நனபல
பலவேறு குழூஉககொடி பதாகை நிலஇய
பெருவரை மருஙகி னருவியி னுடஙக *Madurai*, ll 367-74

20 வெனறெழு கொடியிறறோனறு — ll 582

and this was the bull As if to corroborate this, in the *Prabandham,* Tirumangai Mannan expostulates the Pallava monarch

vidai ver kodi vērpadai mun uyartta

(*Periya Tirumoli,* ii, 9).

an unquestionable reference to the victory-giving bull flag

When we come to the Chālukyas we find the device on their crest the *varāha* or boar Their flag was known as *pālidhvaja* Vinayāditya Satyāśraya won this decoration of *pālidhvaja* after vanquishing a northern king and subduing the Ceylon contemporary to the rank of a tributary ruler [21] What the *pālidhvaja* means is still a mystery The explanation offered by J F Fleet as the banner of the sword-edge[22] does not appear to be satisfactory

That the Vijayanagar kings used the boar crest and boar standard is also evident from the inscriptions and the Local Records It is said in the chronicle of chiefs of Nadimidoddi Pālayam that king Krsnadevarāya in his expedition against Gulburga beat the drum of victory and set up the vrsabha dhvaja [23]

The Marathas appear to have had two banners[24] Jaripatkā and Bhagavā zendā It is doubtful whether

21 See the Vakkaleri Plates of Kīrtivarman II—*Ep Ind*, Vol V, pp 201-203

22 *Ind Ant.*, 1878, pp 111 and 245

23 Local Records, Vol XXXIX, p 12

24 P K Gode's paper in *I H Q*, Vol XVI, pp 40-47 'Aftagir was conferred by Shivaji on his generals and officers of lesser rank as early as the seventeenth century Similarly the honour of carrying *Jari Patāka,* the golden standard conferred on distinguished

both of them were used for military purposes The latter, Bhagavā zendā, has been identified with Pārijāta-dhvaja attributed in literature to Sāmbhāji

Maratha generals who also quite in accord with the Mughal custom Surendranath Sen *Administrative System of the Marathas* (1925) p 639

APPENDIX III

WAR MUSIC

War musical instruments are mentioned from the *Rg Veda Samhitā* onwards It proves that music was a feature of ancient Indian warfare There were musical instruments which were intended for use only on sacrificial and festive occasions There were others which were used in both war and peace like *dundubhi* There were still others which were used only for war purposes We are concerned here with the second and third categories *Dundubhi* was a kettle-drum It was also the earth drum, made by digging a hole in the ground and covering it with a hide [1] It was employed in religious rites and ceremonies We meet with the expression *bhūmi dundubhi* in the Samhitās[2] and the Brāhmanas [3] From this one has to infer that *dundubhi* might be of different kinds And *bhūmi dundubhi* was a later invention of the Aryan peoples

In the Rg Veda Samhitā we meet again with another instrument Bakura with its variations as we conjecture Bakura and Bekura In the passage in which it occurs[4] it was possibly an instrument for war purposes It is said that in the course of an expedition against the Dasyus, the Aśvins blew this musical instrument to help their army against their enemies From the circumstances in which this is mentioned one has to take it that this Bakura was solely employed for war purposes

1 *RV* I, 28 5, *AV* V 20 1
2 *Taitt*, *S* VII, 5 9 3
3 *Pañcavimsa* Br V 5 19
4 I 117 21

If we pass on to the Epic period we find different varieties of musical instruments E W Hopkins who has made some study of these instruments[5] seems to think that *bherī* may not be cymbals *Bherī* is certainly a special sort of drum There was also a mahābheri The old *dundubhi* was there and it was often accompanied by the *bherī* The *bherī* was sounded by beating, and the beating of the *bherī* was a call to arms [6] Other varieties of the drum mentioned in the epic are panava, krakaca, puskara and pataha There is a doubt whether krakaca said to be *jayamangala* by the commentator can come under the category of drums [7]

The same holds true of govisanikas, probably horn instruments In addition to the drums and their deafening noise in the battle-field, we find a large use of shells (śankha) which served apparently as trumpeting instruments Among the śankhas there were different kinds As every warrior was distinguished by his own respective flag, he had his own conch which he blew as a war cry at the commencement of the battle, during the actual operations and after a decisive victory The names of conches used are interesting[8]—

Krsna	Pāñcajanya
Yudhisthira	Anantavijaya
Bhīma	Paundra
Arjuna	Devadatta
Nakula	Sughosa
Sahadeva	Manipuspaka

5 *JAOS*, XIII, pp 318 ff

6 *Mhb* 11 62 VI 17 16 *Rāma* VI 34 27

7 *Ibid*, VII 39 31, VI 51 23, 99 17-19 43 7 8 *Gītā*, I 13

8 *Ibid*, V 51 24-26

There were besides, the blowing of horn (govisānika), gomuka and turya which may represent the trumpets of war In Bk IV, ch 4 of the Arthaśāstra, Kautalya's reference to turya or trumpets along with flags has been already pointed out Drums and trumpets largely figure as we go on in the march of history. The use of conch-shells becomes rarer until its use was once for all restricted to temple services and other rites and ceremonies

Even among the war instruments relating to music in the epic period we find a distinction between the music in the field and music in the camp. In the camp the melodies are softened and the warriors are 'greeted by the milder notes of the lyre [9] This incidentally shows the advance made by epic peoples and their keen artistic sense The primitive and simple musical style has been replaced by the mature and civilised style The soldiers enjoyed good and sweet music after the hard and harsh music of the battlefield Mrdanga and panava were more for the use of the camp than for the field.[10] Nanda and upanandakas, special kinds of mrdanga were played upon by mechanical contrivance so as to produce a joyous note [11]

Tamil literature contains many references to war musical instruments Some of them are kodumparai, murasu, pāndil, neduvayir, and mayirkkan murasu Muraśu is said to be of three kinds of which there was the vīra muraśu, used in war and victory [12] There is a

9 Hopkins op cit, p 321

10 *Mhb* VI 99 18 VII 39 31

11 *Mhb* VII 23 86

12 *Śilap* p 118 *Puram* 58 *Comm* The other two are nyāya *muraśu* and *tyāga muraśu*

description of vira murasu in Puram 50 Mayirkkan murasu is the drum covered over with the hairy skin of the dead bull which had vanquished a tiger when attacked This was beaten when head offerings were made by warriors at the altar of the bhūta [13] In the battle by Śenguttuvan with the northern kings it is said that the muraśu thundered along with leather kodumparai, mayirkkan muraśu, neduvayir and pāndil The last is perhaps cymbals [14] All these made a hell of noise so as to enthuse warriors to fight with redoubled vigour and energy A similar idea is afforded by a stanza in Villiputhūrār Mahābhāratam

முரசு கரடிகை கிணைதுடிபெருமர முருடு படுபறை
முதலிய கருவிக
ளரச வயிர்வளை கொடுமயி ரெழுகுழ லாவவிரு
துகண முதலிய கருவிக
ளுரைசெய கருவிகண முழுவது மெழுவகை யுலக
முடிவுற வுகவிறு திமிலெழு
கரைசெப கடலென வெறிவளி யெனமிசை கஞலி
யுருமெறி கனமொ ரதிர்வே—கனன பருவம, 24

Here the instruments mentioned are muraśu, karadikai, kinai, tudi, perumaram, murudu, and patuparai Kinai seems to be beaten on one side only in the light of a line in Puranānūru [15] Karadikai is perhaps Sanskrit Krakaca Patuparai and Kodumparai may mean the same thing Neduvayir is a long horn instrument Vālvalai and varivalai are varieties of the conch The instruments like Murudu and lute must be more for the camp than for the field

13 *Śilap* V 76 88 see also Maduraikkāñji, ll 732

14 *Ibid*, XXVI ll 193-196

15 392 1 5

APPENDIX IV

CURIOSITIES OF WAR

1 One practice among the primitive Tamil tribes was the worship on the eve of an expedition of the War Goddess who was known as Korravai This goddess is propitiated with sacrificial offerings, often accompanied by dance and song In the *Śilappadhikāram,* the tribe Eiynar whose profession was cattle-lifting invoked the aid of Korravai for the success of their expedition to the neighbouring village or town, and took a vow to offer sacrifices at the successful termination of their expedition It was their belief that this goddess marched in front of their army leading them stage by stage to ultimate victory[1] The way in which she is invoked is interesting

அடிக்கழுத்தி னெடுஞ்சிரத்தை அரிவ ராலோ
அரிந்த சிரம் அணங்கின்கைக் கொடுப்ப ராலோ
கொடுத்த சிரம் கொற்றவையைப் பரவு மாலோ
குறையுடலுங் கும்பிட்டு நிற்கு மாலோ

Kalingattupparani, 97 Cp *Śilo* V ll 76-88

The Korravai was the counterpart of the Sanskrit Durgā whose help was sought by special prayers by Arjuna, the Pāndava, on the eve of the Great Battle with the Kurus[2]

It was similarly believed that a prayer to Durgā meant undoubted and even unlimited victory to one's arms It is striking to note that Ilango-Adigal does not

1 *Śilap* canto XII

2 See Dikshitar *The Lalita Cult,* p 69

refer to Śenguttuvan's prayer to Korravai when he set out to the North against its kings On the other hand it is stated that the blessings came from the local Śiva and Visnu temples which he solemnly accepted Does this show that the worship of Korravai was confined to primitive tribes and not to a civilised community to which Śenguttuvan belonged? Perhaps it does

2 The consultation of auguries is another feature of the wars in ancient India Auguries consisted of *śakunam* and *nimittam* [3] In this connection a sūtra of the Tolkāppiyam is very significant [4] We have a series of *nimittams* here The first is nāl nimittam or the choice of a particular day auspicious for starting on an expedition [5] The astrologer was an important official of the state whom the king often consulted Secondly from right to left, or from left to right, seeing certain birds, hearing the voice of others were sure indications of the success or otherwise of the undertaking References to this omen are extensively met with both in early and later Tamil literature [6] Among the birds, Kāri (sans Bhāradvāja) is referred to in the *Chintāmani* in connection with the cattle-lifting [7] A third nimittam was *viricciyorttal* (sans upaśruti) This is a statement made by a third person unconcerned with the actual decision to be taken In common usage it is called in Tamil land வாய்ச் சொல் [8] Then we have what

3 *Puṟapporul*, sts 13 and 22

4 *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal*, 36

5 See for instance *Silap* V ll 91-92

6 See e g *Puram* 20

7 St 420

8 See also Mullaippāttu, 11

is called *orikkural* or the howling of a beast, particularly a jackal It may be also *kalutukural* or the howl of a devil The fifth was the fall of headless body or bodies in the orbit of the sun (veñcudar mandilam) The sixth was the sight of a hole in that mandilam The seventh was the appearance of the moon in the day-light The last three are rare phenomena cognizable by the senses only Kālidāsa[9] refers to adverse winds on the march of an army The auspicious day was also fixed by the certain position occupied at a particular time by the planets [9a] The following lines of the Kalingattupparani throw interesting light on this subject of omens

மதக்கரி மருப்பிற மதம்புலரு மாலோ
மடப்பிடி மருப்பெழ மதம்பொழியு மாலோ
கதிர்ச்சுடர் விளக்கொளி கறுத்தெரியு மாலோ
காலமுகில் செங்குருதி கால்வரு மாலோ 209
வார்முரசி ருந்துவறி தேயதிரு மாலோ
வந்திரவில் இந்திரவில் வானிலிடு மாலோ
ஊர்மனையில் ஊமனெழ ஓரியழு மாலோ
ஓமவெரி யீமவெரி போலெரியு மாலோ 210
பூவியலு மாலைகள் புலால்கமழு மாலோ
பொன்செய்மணி மாலையொளி போயொழியு மாலோ
ஓவிய மெலாமுடல் வியர்ப்பவரு மாலோ
ஊறுபுனல் செங்குருதி நாறவரு மாலோ 224

3 *Vīrakkal* The great warrior who stood to the last and won the laurel of victory did not go unrecognised To perpetuate his memory it was the Tamil custom to

9 तस्य जातु मरुतः प्रतीपगा वर्त्मसु ध्वजतरुप्रमाथिनः ।
चिक्लिशुर्भृशतया वरूथिनीमुत्तटा इव नदीरयाः स्थलीः ॥ (XI 58).
लक्ष्यते स्म तदनन्तरं रविर्बद्धभीमपरिवेषमण्डलः ।
वैनतेयशमितस्य भोगिनो भोगवेष्टित इव च्युतो मणिः ॥ (*Ibid* 59)

9a *Puram* 229

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instal a stone called vīrakkal with an inscription containing his name and heroic deeds Sometimes the hero stone became an object of veneration by the public The Kural-venba has it

எனனைமுன நிலலனமின தெவவிா பலரெனனை
முனனினறு கலநின றவா (படைசசெருககு—1)

The vīrakkal is mentioned largely in epigraphy and is found throughout the districts of Anantapur, Cuddapah, Nilgiris, Coorg, etc[10] From the earliest extant Tamil literature, Tolkāppiyam, it appears there was a regular ceremonial attending the planting of the hero stone Any stone and every stone was not to be used Only stones appropriate for the occasion were selected Then an auspicious hour was fixed to carve out an image and also the inscription thereon The next stage was to get the stone bathed in sacred waters, being a purificatory ceremony Then came the pleasant function of planting it at the suitable place already fixed The last was to celebrate it as a deity, sometimes enclosing it in a building

4 *Kāvanmaram* It was a custom with ancient Tamil monarchs to rear a tree at the outskirts of their dominions, and to guard it with great care and zeal The idea was that if the invading enemy would first attack this Kāvanmaram, and if this were felled down, the owner of the tree felt it a public shame as it amounted to vanquishing him[11] The enemy king removed the tree to his kingdom and put it to different uses, one of which was to make out of the cut trunk a war drum[12] The

10 *Aham* 347, 11 3-5 127 11 *Puram*, 23, 36, 57

12 *கிரளபூவ கடமபின கடியுடை முழுமுதல துமிய* (பதிற 11)
கடமபறுத இயறறிய வலமபடு வியனபணை (பதிற 17)
கடமப றுத சியறறில பணணமை முரசு (அகம 347)

Kāvanmaram was a symbol of sovereignty It is said that Imayavaramban Neduñceralatan felled the Kadamba tree in an island which he captured The idea of his Kavanmaram may be traced back perhaps to the Pillai cult which may have been a part of the ancient Dravidian worship As in ancient Crete the Tamils of South India attached value to the cult of the Pillai It may be that the kings of the Tamil land attached religious significance to this Kāvanmaram, and hedged it with divinity

5 Another peculiarity of the Tamils was to erect images of women with balls in their hands at the entrance gates of the king's palace

> செருப்புகன் றெடுத்த சேணுயர் நெடுங்கொடி
> வரிப்புனை பந்தொடு பாவை தூங்க
> பொருநர்த் தேய்த்த போரரு வாயில் (திருமுருகு 67—69)

The idea was to treat the enemy kings as members of the weaker sex The conquering king felt that he was superior to all the princes If the latter had the courage to attack him they had to cut off the cords with which the image was fastened, and this amounted to a declaration of war. It was one method to discard and despise the enemy as such

6 The Sangam age of the Tamils was the heroic age of Tamil India If the men of the Tamil land were heroes, their women were heroines There are interesting passages in the *Puranānūru* where poetesses have sung in praise of the heroism of Tamil women, mothers who had given birth to heroic sons The dominant spirit of the age is reflected in the beautiful poem (No 86), the authorship of which is attributed to a lady by name Kāvar Peṇdu A certain mother is asked where her son

was She answered she knew not But she added that she was sure that the tiger that had lain in the lair of her bowels would be found in the field of battle This is indirectly telling that her son had joined the ranks to do his duty by his country War was the pabulum on which our ancient warriors were great in name and fame Okkūrmāsāttiyār, a poetess, praises a certain lady who gave birth to only one son and who sent him to the field of battle when there was the country's call for it Born in a family of heroes, this lady dresses the hair of her only son (it may be noted here that the wearing of tuft was an ancient Tamil practice) and gives him the armour to get ready for action in the field of battle She encourages him by saying that both his father and grandfather gave up their lives heroically in battle, and it was but proper that he a young fellow should follow the example of his dear and near forbears [13]

This may be contrasted with another verse where a heroic mother heard the disquieting news that her son lost his courage in action and had fled in fear If it were true, she expressed that she should cut off her breasts that had fed him with milk With this determination she entered the battle-field with a sword in her hand and went on searching for her fallen son When she saw her son's body cut in twain, she felt much more happy than when she gave birth to him

> மீனுண் கொக்கின் றூவி யன்ன
> வானரைக் கூந்தன் முதியோள் சிறுவன்
> களிறெறிந்து பட்டன னென்னு முவகை
> யீன்ற ஞான்றினும் பெரிதே கண்ணீர்
> நோன்கழை துயல்வரும் வெதிரத்து
> வான்பெய் தூங்கிய சிதரினும் பலவே (Puram 277)

13 *Puram*, 279

When a certain mother heard that her son threw his spear over the enemy's elephant but could not take it back, and so unarmed, he had to retreat from the field, she got distressed and despised her bowels which yielded that son She felt that her son had let down the honour of her family

வாதுவல வயிறே வாதுவல வயிறே
நோவ லதனை நினனின றனறே
பொருநதா மனனா அருஞச[ம] முருககி
அககளத தொழிநதல செலலாய மிகக
புகாமுகக குஞசர மெறிநத எஃகம
அதனமுகத தொழிய நீபோந தனையே

Tol Porul 24 *Comm*

Equally interesting is the stanza of the poetess Ponmudiyār who sets out the duties of parents, son and king

ஈனறு புறநதருதல எனறலை கடனே
சானறோ னாககுதல தநதைககு கடனே
வேலவடிதது கொடுததல கொலலறகுக கடனே
நனனடை நலகல வேநதறகு கடனே
ஒளிறுவாள அருஞசம முருககிக
களிறெறிநது பெயாதல காளைககு கடனே (Puram 312)

Sometimes heroic wives who heard of their husbands' death in the field were unwilling to survive them They went to the scene of action in search of the dead bodies of their husbands When they found them out they embraced them and sought voluntary death by entering the funeral pyre[14]

7 There are other curiosities which marked ancient Tamil warfare One was the heroic impulse which animated the wounded soldier Normally we would expect him to get treated and nursed But the Tamil

14 See for details the article on *Virattāymar* in M Raghava Aiyangar's Araiccittogudi, pp 167-177

soldier who fell in battle badly wounded, refused to undergo any treatment for his wounds He preferred to make his wound more and more ulcerous and thereby he invoked death He did not like the idea of living after having been beaten to death in the battle [15] This is explaind in the Purattinaiyiyal of the Tolkāppiyam and goes by the name of Marakkāñji being one of the ten subdivisions of Anpaikāñci of the Kāñcittuṟai

8 *Vadakkiruttal* In intimate relation to the above practices, was the custom of *vadakkiruttal*, literally to sit facing the northern direction The defeat of a king in the field was considered so low that the vanquished hero would seek self-immolation Having taken leave of his rank and file, the fallen hero chose a place, sat down facing north with his sword by his side and fasted unto death This is seen in the Puram where Cheramān Perumceralātan practised this after being wounded in a war by the Chola King Karikālan (65) There is another instance of Vadakkiruttal in the Puranānūru It was by the Chola King Kopperuncholan The sons of the king rose in revolt and the Chola king resolved to fight out the rebellious sons in the field of battle A poet known as Pullārrūr Eyirriyanār interceded and advised the Chola not to fight his own sons, as a resut of which there would be none to succeed him The Chola listened to this and resolved to renounce the throne by the practice of fasting unto death This is the *prāyopaveśam* of the Sanskritists and the *sallekana* of the Jains He had an intimate friend in Pisirāndaiyar, a poet of the Pāndyan Kingdom. The king knew that he would follow him and so set apart a place for him

15 See above p 56

9 Puram consists of seven tinais or themes, and of these vetci, vañji, uliñjai, tumbai and vāhai are related to war efforts on the part of the ancient Tamils. Later on the tinais became twelve It is vetci when a chieftain sends out his troops to seize the cattle of the neighbouring chief and to distribute the prize among the villagers and others Here it was usual for the conquering chief to wear vetci garland This is the explanation of the theme given by Tolkāppiyanar Recovering the cattle from the enemy is said to be Karandai where, as a consequence of the success, the Karandai flower was worn It is really curious that the Tamils attached significance to the different flowers representing various stages of an expedition In fact the whole of the Purapporul venbāmālai of the 7th century A D deals with these various themes in detail, though by this age the mode of wars in general in South India had been considerably changed At the best the Purapporul Venbāmālai can be said to record the old tradition rather than the contemporary usage

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PLATE NO 2 Back of Western gateway Middle Section of Architraves Sanchi
Courtesy Department of Archaeology, Bhopal

PLATE No 3 Painting of March of Infantry Ellora

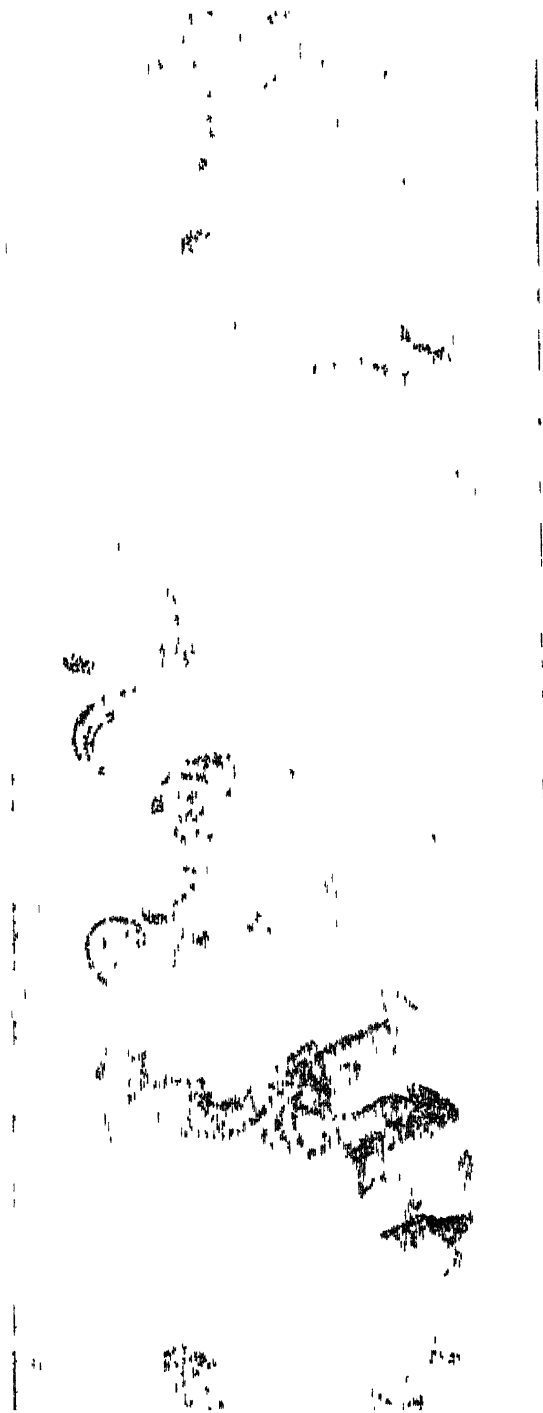
Courtesy Department of Archaeology, Hyderabad Dn.

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PLATE NO 5 Painting of Battle Scene, Ellora

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Courtesy Department of Archaeology, Hyderabad

PLATE NO 7 Battle Scene Ellora
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